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THE *Sam: Miller.*
SACRED *and* PROPANE
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
W O R L D

C O N N E C T E D,

From the CREATION of the WORLD

to the Dissolution of the *Assyrian* Empire
at the Death of *Sardanapalus*, and to the
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Judah* and
Israel, under the Reigns of *Abaz* and *Pekab*.

By *SAMUEL SHUCKFORD*, M. A.
Rector of *Shelton* in the County of *Norfolk*.

VOLUME *the* FIRST.

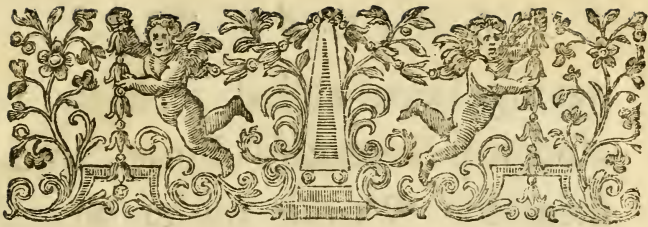
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1870



To the Right HONOURABLE

CHARLES

Lord Viscount TOWNSHEND,

*Baron of Lynn-Regis, and Knight
of the Most Noble Order of the
Garter, &c.*

MY LORD,



HIS Volume was first
published, before I
had the Happiness to
be introduced to your Fa-
vour; but [a new Impression
* A having

DEDICATION.

having been called for, soon after my Second Volume came into the World under your Lordship's Patronage] I most humbly beg now to have the Honour of Dedicating it to your Lordship.

Your Lordship will find no Retirement from the Honour and Esteem of Mankind: And whoever may be permitted to appear to have any Share of your Lordship's Favour, will experience it a sure Recommendation to the good Opinion of the World.

I shall in a little Time intreat your Lordship's Acceptance of a Third Volume,
and

DEDICATION.

and hope for the Continuance
of your Protection to the
remaining Parts of my Per-
formance.

I am,

My LORD,

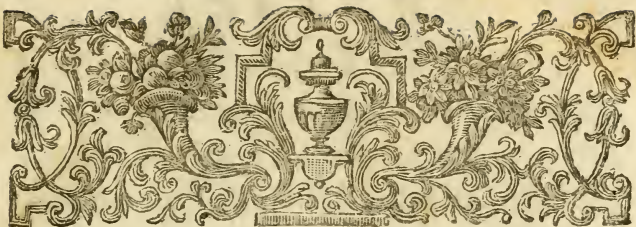
Your Lordship's most Obedient

and most Humble Servant,

Shelton, Norf.
Decemb. 3,
1730.

SAMUEL SHUCKFORD.





T H E
P R E F A C E.



THE Design of this Undertaking is to set before the Reader a View of the History of the World, from *Adam*, to the Dissolution of the *Assyrian* Empire, at the Death of *Sardanapalus*, in the Reigns of *Abaz* King of *Judah*, and *Pekah* King of *Israel*: At this Period, the most Learned Dean *Prideaux* began his *Connection of the Old and New Testament*, and I would bring my Performance down to the Times where his Work begins; hoping, that if I can set the Transactions of these Ages in a

clear Light, my Endeavours may be of some Service towards forming a Judgment of the Truth and Exactness of the ancient Scripture-History, by shewing how far the old Fragments of the Heathen Writers agree with it, and how much better and more authentic the Account is, which it gives of Things, where they differ from it. What is now published, is but a small Part of my Design; but if this meets with that Acceptance, which I hope it may, the remaining Parts shall soon follow.

Chronology and Geography being necessary Helps to History, I have taken care to be as exact as I can, in both of them: And that I might give the Reader the clearest View of the Geography, I have, here and there, added a Map, where I differ in any Particulars from other Writers, or have mentioned any thing, not so clearly delineated in the Draughts already extant. And as to the Chronology, I have observed, as I go along, the several Years in which the Particulars I treat of, happened;
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and where any Doubts or Difficulties may arise, I have endeavoured to clear them, by giving my Reasons for the particular Times of such Transactions, as I have treated of.

In the Annals, as I go along, I have chosen to make use of the *Ara* of the Creation of the World, that seeming to me most easy and natural. The Transactions I am to treat of, are brought down from the Beginning, and it will be often very clear at what Interval or Distance they follow one another, and how long after the Creation; whereas, if I had used the same *Ara* with *Dr. Prideaux*, and computed by the Years before Christ, it would have been necessary to have ascertain'd the Reader in what Year of the World the Incarnation of Christ happened, before he could have had a fixed and determinate Notion of my Chronology: However, when I have gone thro' the Whole, I shall add such Chronological Tables, as may adjust the several Years of the Creation

both to the *Julian* Period and *Christian Æra*.

It is something difficult to say, of what Length the Year was, that was in Use in the early Ages. Before the Flood, it is most probable, that the Civil and Solar Year were the same, and that 360 Days were the exact Measure of both. In that Space of Time, the Sun made one entire Revolution, and it was easy and natural for the first Astronomers to divide the Circle of the Sun's Annual Course into 360 Parts, long before Geometry arrived at Perfection enough to afford a Reason for the chusing to divide Circles into that Number of Degrees. All the time of the Antediluvian World, Chronology was fixed and easy; a Year could be more exactly measured than it now can.

At the Flood, the Heavens underwent some Change: The Motion of the Sun was altered, and a Year, or annual Revolution of it, became, as it now is, five Days and almost six Hours longer than it was before. That such a
Change

Change had been made (*a*), most of the Philosophers observed, and without doubt, as soon as they did observe it, they endeavoured to set right their Chronology by it; for it is evident, that as soon as the Solar Year became thus augmented, the ancient Measure of a Year would not do, but Mistakes must creep in, and grow more and more every Year they continued to compute by it.

The first Correction of the Year, which we read of, was made in (*b*) *Egypt*; and *Syncellus* (*c*) names the Person who made it, *viz.* *Assis*, a King of *Thebes*, who reign'd about a Thousand Years after the Flood. He added five Days to the ancient Year, and inserted them at the End of the twelfth Month. And this, tho' it did not bring the Civil Year up to an exact Measure with the Solar, yet was a great Emendation, and put Chronology in a State which it continued in for

(*a*) See Plutarch de placit. Philos. l. 2. c. 8. l. 3. c. 12. l. 5. c. 18. & Plato Polit. p. 174, 175, 269, 270, 271. & Laertius in vit. Anaxagor. l. 9. seg. 33. (*b*) Herodot. l. 2. (*c*) Syncell. p. 123.

some Ages. The *Egyptian* Year thus settled by *Affis*, consisted of Months and Days as follows :

Months.	Containing Days	Beginning about
1 <i>Thyoth</i>	30	<i>August</i> - 29
2 <i>Paophi</i>	30	<i>September</i> - 28
3 <i>Athyr</i>	30	<i>October</i> - 28
4 <i>Choiac</i>	30	<i>November</i> 27
5 <i>Tubi</i>	30	<i>December</i> 27
6 <i>Mecheir</i>	30	<i>January</i> 26
7 <i>Phamenoth</i>	30	<i>February</i> 25
8 <i>Pharmuthi</i>	30	<i>March</i> - 27
9 <i>Pachon</i>	30	<i>April</i> - 26
10 <i>Pauni</i>	30	<i>May</i> - - 26
11 <i>Epiphi</i>	30	<i>June</i> - 25
12 <i>Mesori</i>	30	<i>July</i> - - 25

^{Ἐπαγόμεναι}, or additional 5 Days, begin *August* 24, and so end *August* 28, that the First of *Thyoth* next Year may be *August* 29, as above.

The *Babylonians* are thought to have corrected their Year next to the *Egyptians*: They computed but 360 Days to a Year, until the Death of *Sardanapalus*, about 1600 Years after the Flood. At his Death *Belesis* began his

his Reign, and *Belesis* being the same Person with *Nabonassar*, from the beginning of his Reign commenceth the famous Astronomical *Æra* called by his Name. The *Nabonassarean* Year agrees exactly with the *Egyptian* Year before mentioned. The Months differ in Name only; they are the same in Number, and of equal Lengths; but this Year does not begin in Autumn, as the *Egyptian* does, but from the End of our *February*, which was the Time when *Nabonassar* began his Reign.

The ancient Year of the *Medes*, is the same with the *Nabonassarean*: It begins about the same time, has the same Number of Months and Days, and *Epagomena*, or additional Days at its End, and was probably brought into Use by *Arbaces*, who was confederate with *Nabonassar* against *Sardanapalus*, and who by Agreement with him founded the Empire of the *Medes*, at the same time that the other set up himself King at *Babylon*. Dr. Hyde (a)

(a) Rel. vet. Pers. c. 14.

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agrees to this Original of the *Medes* Year, and supposes it to have been instituted about the time of the founding the Empire of the *Medes*. He very justly corrects *Golius*, and accounts for the *Median* Year's beginning in the Spring, by supposing it derived from the *Assyrian*, tho' in one Point I think he mistakes. He imagines all the ancient Years to have begun about this Time, and that the *Syrians*, *Chaldeans*, and *Sabæans*, who began their Year at Autumn, had deviated from their first Usage; whereas the contrary is true: All the ancient Nations began their Year from the Autumn. *Nabonassar* made the first Alteration at *Babylon*, and his Year being received at the setting up the *Median* Empire, the *Medes* began their Year agreeably to it. Dr. *Hyde* supposes the ancient *Persian* Year to be the same with the *Median*, but Dean *Prideaux* was of opinion that the *Persian* Year consisted but of 360 Days, in the Reign of *Darius* (a).

(a) *Connect.* Vol. I. Ann. ante Christum 509.

Thales (a) was the first that corrected the *Greek Year*. He flourished something more than fifty Years after *Nabonassar*. He learn'd in *Egypt* that the Year consisted of 365 Days, and endeavoured to settle the *Grecian Chronology* to a Year of that Measure. *Strabo* (b) supposes *Plato* and *Eudoxus* to have been the Correctors of the *Greek Year*; but he means, that they were the first of the *Grecians* who found out the Deficiency of almost six Hours in *Thales's Year*; for he does not say, that *Plato* and *Eudoxus* were the first that introduced 365 Days for a Year, but speaks expressly of their first learning the Defect before mentioned; 365 Days were settled for a Year, almost two Centuries before the Times of *Eudoxus*, or *Plato*. *Thales's Correction* was not immediately received all over *Greece*, for *Solon* in the time of *Cræsus* King of *Lydia* was ignorant of it (c).

The

(a) Diogenes Laert. in vit. Thaletis. (b) Strabo l. 17. p. 806. (c) Herod. l. 1. § 32. Solon seems to hint, that a Month of 30 Days should be intercalated every other Year, but this

The most ancient Year of the *Romans* was formed by *Romulus*. Whence, or how he came by the Form of it, is uncertain; it consisted of but ten (*a*) Months, very irregular ones (*b*), some of them being not twenty Days long, and others above thirty-five; but in this Respect it agreed with the most ancient Years of other Nations, it consisted (*c*) of 360 Days, and no more, as is evident from the express Testimony of *Plutarch*.

The *Jewish* Year, in these early Times, consisted of twelve Months, and each Month of thirty Days; and three hundred and sixty Days were the whole Year. We do not find that God, by any special Appointment, corrected the Year for them; for what may seem to have been done of this sort (*d*), at the Institution of the Passover, does not appear to

is supposing the Year to contain 375 Days. Either Solon was not acquainted with Thales's Measure of a Year, or Herodotus made a Mistake in his Relation, or the Greeks were about this Time trying to fix the true Measure of the Year, and Solon determined it one way and Thales another. (*a*) Thus Ovid. *Fast.* Lib. 1.

Tempora digereret cum Conditor Urbis, in Anno
Constituit Menses quinque bis esse suo.

(*b*) *Plutarch. vitar. p. 71.* (*c*) *Id. ibid.* (*d*) *Exodus xii.*

affect the Length of their Year at all, for in that Respect it continued the same after that Appointment, which it was before. And we do not any where read that *Moses* ever made a Correction of it. The adding the five Days to the Year under *Affis*, before-mentioned, happened after the Children of *Israel* came out of *Egypt*; and so *Moses* might be learned in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*, and yet not instructed in this Point, which was a Discovery made after his leaving them. Twelve Months were a Year in the Times of *David* and *Solomon*, as appears by the Course of Household Officers (*a*) appointed by the one, and of Captains (*b*) by the other; and we no where in the Books of the Old Testament find any mention of an intercalary Month; and *Scaliger* is positive, that there was no such Month used in the Times of *Moses*, or of the Judges, or of the Kings (*c*). And that each Month had thirty Days, and no

(*a*) 1 Kings iv. 5. (*b*) 1 Chron. xxvii. (*c*) Lib. de Emend. Temp. in capite de Anno Iſraeorum Hebræorum Abrahamæo.

more, is evident from *Moses's* Computation of the Duration of the Flood. The Flood began, he tells us (*a*), on the seventeenth Day of the second Month; prevailed without any sensible Abatement for 150 Days (*b*), and then lodged the Ark on Mount *Ararat*, on (*c*) the seventeenth Day of the seventh Month; so that we see, from the seventeenth of the second Month, to the seventeenth of the seventh [*i. e.* for five whole Months] he allows one hundred and fifty Days, which is just thirty Days to each Month, for five times thirty Days are an hundred and fifty. This therefore was the ancient *Jewish* Year; and I imagine this Year was in use amongst them, without Emendation, at least to a much later Period than that to which I am to bring down this Work. Dean *Prideaux* (*d*) treats pretty largely of the ancient *Jewish* Year, from *Selden*, and from the *Talmud* and *Maimonides*, but the Year he speaks of seems not to

(*a*) Gen vii. 11. (*b*) Ver. 24. (*c*) Chap. viii. Ver. 3, 4.
 (*d*) *Preface to the First Volume of his Connection.*

have been used until after the Captivity (a).

From what has been said it must be evident, that the Chronologers do, in the general, mistake, in supposing the ancient Year commensurate with the present *Julian*. The 1656 Years, which preceded the Flood, came short of so many *Julian* Years, by above twenty-three Years. And in like manner after the Flood, all Nations, 'till the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*, which begins exactly where my History is to end, computing by a Year of 360 Days, except the *Egyptians* only (and they altered the old Computation but a Century or two before) and the Difference between this ancient Year, and the *Julian*, being five Days in each Year, besides the Day in every Leap-Year; it is very clear, that the Space of Time between the Flood, and the Death of *Sardanapalus*, supposed to contain about 1600 ancient Years, will fall short of so many *Julian* Years by five Days and about a fourth Part of a

(a) See Scaliger in loc. supr. citat.

Day in every Year, which amounts to one or two and twenty Years in the whole Time: But I would only hint this here; the Uses that may be made of it shall be observed in their proper Places. There are many Chronological Difficulties which the Reader will meet with, of another Nature; but as I have endeavoured to adjust them in the Places they belong to, it would be needless to repeat here what will be found at large in the ensuing Pages.

I shall, very probably, be thought to have taken great Liberty in the Accounts I have given of the most ancient Prophane History, particularly in that which is Antediluvian, and which I have reduced to an Agreement with the History of *Moses*. It will be said, take it all together, as it lyes in the Authors from whom we have it, it and has no such Harmony with the Sacred Writer; and to make an Harmony by taking Part of what is represented, and such Part only as you please, every thing, or any thing, may be made to agree
in

in this manner, but such an Agreement will not be much regarded by the Un-biass'd. To this I answer: The Hea-then Accounts which we have of these early Ages, were taken from the Re-cords of either *Thyoth* the *Egyptian*, or *Sanchoniathon* of *Berytus*; and whatever the Original Memoirs of these Men were, we are sure their Accounts were, some time after their Decease, corrupt-ed with Fable and mystical Philosophy. *Philo* of *Biblos* in one Place (a) seems to think, that *Tautus* himself wrote his *Sacra*, and his Theology, in a Way a-bove the Understanding of the common People, in order to create Reverence and Respect to the Subjects he treated of, and that *Surmubelus* and *Theuro*, some Ages after, endeavoured to explain his Works, by stripping them of the Allegory, and giving their true Mean-ing; but I cannot think a Writer so an-cient as *Athothes* wrote in Fable or Al-legory; the first Memoirs or Histories were without doubt short and plain,

(a) See Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.

and Men afterwards embellished them with false Learning, and in time endeavoured to correct that, and arrive at the True. All therefore that I can collect from this Passage of *Philo Biblius*, is this, that *Thyoth's* Memoirs did not continue such as he left them, *Surmubelus* and *Theuro* in some time altered them, and I fear, whoever they were, they altered them for the worse; for such were the Alterations which succeeding Generations made in the Records of their Ancestors, as appears from what the same Writer further offers (a). “When “*Saturnus*,” says he [now I think *Saturnus* to be only another Name for *Mizraim*] “went to the *South*,” [*i. e.* when he removed from the Lower *Egypt*, into *Thebais*, which I have taken notice of in its Place,] “he made *Taautus* King “of all *Egypt*, and the *Cabiri*” [who were the Sons of *Mizraim*] “made Memoirs of these Transactions:” Such were the first Writings of Mankind;

(a) See Euseb. *ibid.*

Short Hints or Records of what they did,
 and where they settled: " But the Son
 of *Thabio*, one of the first Interpreters
 of the *Sacra* of the *Phœnicians*, by his
 Comments and Interpretations, filled
 these Records full of Allegory, and
 mixed his Physiological Philosophy
 with them, and so left them to the
 Priests, and they to their Successors;
 and with these Additions and Mix-
 tures they came into the Hands of the
Greeks, who were Men of an aboun-
 ding Fancy, and they, by new Ap-
 plications, and by increasing the num-
 ber, and the Extravagancy of the Fa-
 ble, did in time leave but little Ap-
 pearance of any thing like Truth in
 them." We have much the same Ac-
 count of the Writings of *Sanchoniathon*.
Sanchoniathon of *Berytus*, we are told
 (a), wrote his History of the *Jewish*
 Antiquities with the greatest Care and
 Fidelity, having received his Facts
 from *Hierombalus* a Priest; and having

(a) See Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 9.

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“ a mind to write an universal History
 “ of all Nations from the Beginning,
 “ he took the greatest Pains in search-
 “ ing the Records of *Taautus*; but some
 “ later Writers [probably the Persons
 “ before-mentioned] had corrupted his
 “ Remains by their Allegorical Inter-
 “ pretations, and Physical Additions;
 “ for (says *Philo*) the more modern
 “ *ιερολόγοι*, Priests, or Explainers of
 “ the *Sacra*, had omitted to relate the
 “ true Facts as they were recorded, in-
 “ stead of which, they had obscured
 “ them by (a) invented Accounts and
 “ mysterious Fictions, drawn from
 “ their Notions of the Nature of the
 “ Universe; so that it was not easy for
 “ one to distinguish the real Facts which

(a) We have an Instance in Plutarch, Lib. de Iside p. 355, of the Manner in which the ancient Records were obscured by Fable. The ancient Egyptians had recorded the Alteration of the Year which I have treated of, and perhaps observed, that it was caused by the Sun's Annual Course becoming five Days longer than it before was, and that the Moon's Course was proportionably shortened: The Mythologic Priests turn'd this Account into the following Fable: Rhea, they say, having privately lain with Saturn, begg'd of the Sun that she might bring forth in no Month nor Year; Mercury hereupon was set to play at Dice with the Moon, and won from her the seventy second Part of each Day, which being given to the Sun, made the five additional Days, over and above the settled Months of the Year, in one of which Rhea was brought to Bed. Five Days are the seventy-second Part of 360 Days, which was the Length of the ancient Year.

“ *Taautus* had recorded, from the Ficti-
 “ ons superadded to them. But he
 “ [i. e. *Sanchoniathon*] finding some of
 “ the Books of the *Ammonæi*, which
 “ were kept in the Libraries or Regi-
 “ stries of the Temples, examined every
 “ thing with the greatest Care, and re-
 “ jecting the Allegories and Fables
 “ which at first Sight offered themselves,
 “ he at length brought his Work to
 “ Perfection. But the Priests that lived
 “ after him, adding their Comments
 “ and Explications to his Work, in
 “ some time brought all back to My-
 “ thology again.” This, I think, is a
 just Account of what has been the Fate
 of the ancient Heathen Remains; they
 were clear and true, when left by their
 Authors, but After-writers corrupted
 them by the Addition of Fable and false
 Philosophy; and therefore any one that
 would endeavour to give a probable Ac-
 count of Things from the Remains of
Thyoth, or *Sanchoniathon*, must set aside
 what he finds to be Allegory and Fable,
 as the surest way to come at the true

Remains of these ancient Authors. This I have endeavoured to do in my Accounts of the *Phœnician* and *Egyptian* Antiquities. I have added nothing to their History, and if their ancient Remains be carefully examined, the Nature of what I have omitted, will justify my omitting it; and what I have taken from them, will, I believe, satisfy, the judicious Reader, that these ancient Writers, before their Writings were corrupted, left Accounts very agreeable to that of *Moses*.

Some Persons think the Remains we have of *Sanchoniathon*, and the Extracts from *Taautus*, to be mere Figments, and that very probably there never were either such Men or such Writers. But to this I answer with Bishop *Stillingfleet* (a). Had it been so, the Antagonists of *Porphyry*, *Methodius*, *Apollinaris*, but especially *Eusebius*, who was so well versed in Antiquities, would have found out so great a Cheat; for however they have been accused of admitting Pious

(a) *Origines Sacrae*, P. I, c. 2.

Frauds, yet they were such as made for them, and not against them, as the Works of these Writers were thought to do, when the Enemies of Christianity produced them; and I dare say, that if the Fragments of these Ancients did indeed contradict the Sacred History, instead of what they may, I think, when fairly interpreted, be proved to do, namely, to agree with it, and to be thereby an additional Argument of its uncorrupted Truth and Antiquity, our modern Enemies of revealed-Religion would think it a Partiality not to allow them as much Authority as our Bible.

As the Works of *Tautus* and *Sancho-niathon* were corrupted by the Fables of Authors that wrote after them, so probably the *Chaldean* Records suffered Alterations from the Fancies of those who in After-ages copied them, and from hence the Reigns [or Lives] of *Berosus's* Antediluvian Kings [or rather Men] came to be extended to so incredible a Length. The Lives of Men, in these Times, were extraordinary, as *Moses* has

has represented them, but the prophane Historians, fond of the Marvellous, have far exceeded the Truth in their Relations. *Berosus* computes their Lives by a Term of Years called *Sarus*; each *Sarus*, he says, is 603 Years, and he imagines some of them to have lived 10, 12, 13, and 18 *Sari*, i. e. 6030, 7236, 7839, and 10854 Years; but Mistakes of this sort have happened in Writers of a much later Date. *Diodorus*, and other Writers, represent the Armies of *Semiramis*, and her Buildings at *Babylon*, more numerous and magnificent than can be conceived by any one that considers the Infant State Kingdoms were in when she reign'd. *Abraham*, with a Family of between three and four hundred Persons, made the Figure of a mighty Prince, in these early Times, for the Earth was not full of People: And if we come down to the Times of the *Trojan War*, we do not find Reason to imagine, that the Countries which the Heathen Writers treated of, were more potent or populous than their Cotemporaries, of whom

we have Accounts in the Sacred Pages ; but the Heathen Historians hearing that *Semiramis*, or other ancient Princes, did what were Wonders in their Age, took care to tell them in a Way and Manner, that should make them Wonders in their own. In a Word, *Moses* is the only Writer whose Accounts are liable to no Exception. We must make Allowances in many Particulars to all others, and very great ones in the Point before us, to reconcile them to either Truth or Probability ; and I think I have met with a Saying of an Heathen Writer which seems to intimate it, for he uses Words something to this Purpose : *Datur hæc Venia Antiquitati, ut miscendo ficta veris Primordia sua augustiora faciat.*

In my History of the *Assyrian* Empire after the Flood, I have followed that Account which the ancient Writers are supposed to have taken from *Ctesias*. *Herodotus* differs much from it ; he imagins the (a) *Assyrian* Empire to have

(a) Herodot. L. 1. c. 95.

begun but 520 Years before the *Medes* broke off their Subjection to it, and thinks *Semiramis* to have been but five Generations older than (a) *Nitocris*, the Mother of *Labyntus*, called in Scripture *Belshazzar*, in whose Reign *Cyrus* took *Babylon*. Five Generations, says Sir *John Marsham* (b), could not make up 200 Years. *Herodotus* has been thought to be mistaken in this Point by all Antiquity. *Herennius* observes, that *Babylon* (c) was built by *Belus*, and makes it older than *Semiramis* by 2000 Years, imagining perhaps *Semiramis* to be as late as *Herodotus* has placed her, or taking *Atossa*, the Daughter of *Cyrus*, to be *Semiramis*, as *Photius* (d) suggests *Conon* to have done. *Herennius* was indeed much mistaken in the Antiquity of *Babylon*; but whoever considers his Opinion will find no Reason to quote him, as Sir *John Marsham* (e) does in favour of *Herodotus*. *Porphyry* is (f)

(a) Id. *ibid.* c. 184.(b) *Can. Chron.* p. 489.(c) *Apud Steph.* in *Voce Bab.*(d) *Phot. Tmem.* 186.*Narrat.* 9.(e) *In loc. supr. cit.*(f) *Euseb. Præp.* l. 1.

said to place *Semiramis* about the Time of the *Trojan* War, but as he acknowledges in the same Place, that she might be older, his Opinion is no Confirmation of *Herodotus's* Account. From *Moses's* *Nimrod* to *Nabonassar* appears evidently from Scripture to be about 1500 Years, for so many Years there are between the Time that *Nimrod* began to be a mighty One (a), and the Reign of *Abaz* King of *Judah*, who was Cotemporary with *Nabonassar*; and therefore *Herodotus*, in imagining the first *Assyrian* Kings to be but 520 Years before *Deioces* of *Media*, falls short of the Truth, above 900 Years. But there ought to be no great Stress laid upon *Herodotus's* Account in this Matter; he seems to own himself to have taken up his Opinion from Report only, and not to have examined any Records to assure him of the Truth of it (b).

(a) Gen. x. 8. 2 Kings xvi. 7.

(b) Lib. 1, c. 95. ὡς τῶν Περσέων μετεξέτερι λέγεται ——— κατὰ ταῦτα γράφω.

Ctesias, who was Physician to *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and lived in his Court, and near his Person about seventeen Years, wrote his History about an hundred Years after *Herodotus*. He was every way well qualified to correct the Mistakes which *Herodotus* had made in his History of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Affairs; for he did not write, as *Herodotus* did, from Hearsay and Report, but he search'd (a) the Royal Records of *Persia*, in which all Transactions and Affairs of the Government were faithfully registred. That there were such Records was a Thing well known; and the Books of *Ezra* and *Esther* give (b) us a Testimony of them. *Ctesias's* Account falls very well within the Compass of Time which the *Hebrew* Scriptures allow for such a Series of Kings as he has given us? and we have not only the *Hebrew* Scriptures to assure us, that from *Nimrod* to *Nabonassar* were as many Years as he computes, but it ap-

(a) Diodorus Siculus Lib. 2. p. 84.
Esther vi. 1.

(b) Ezra iv. 15.

appears from what *Callisthenes* the Philosopher, (a) who accompanied *Alexander the Great*, observed of the Astronomy of the *Babylonians*, that they had been a People eminent for Learning, for as long a Time backward as *Ctesias* supposes; they had Astronomical Observations for 1903 Years backward, when *Alexander* took *Babylon*, and *Alexander's* taking *Babylon* happening about 420 Years after *Nabonassar*, it is evident they must have been settled near 1500 Years before his Reign; and thus *Ctesias's* Account is, as to the Substance of it, confirmed by very good Authorities. The Scriptures shew us that there was such an Interval between the first *Assyrian* King and *Nabonassar*, as he imagines. The Observations of *Callisthenes* prove, that the *Assyrians* were Promoters of Learning during that whole Interval, and *Ctesias's* Account only supplies us with the Number and Names of the Kings, whose Reigns, according to the

(a) Simplicius l. 2. de Cœlo.

Royal Records of *Persia*, filled up such an Interval. *Ctesias's* Accounts, and *Callisthenes's* Observations were not framed with a Design to be suited exactly to one another, or to the Scripture, and therefore their agreeing so well together is a good Confirmation of the Truth of each of them.

There are indeed some Things objected against *Ctesias* and his History. We find the Ancients had but a mean Opinion of him; he is treated as a fabulous Writer by *Aristotle*, *Antigonus*, *Caristheus*, *Plutarch*, *Arrian*, and *Photius*; but I might observe, none of these Writers ever imagined him to have invented a whole Catalogue of Kings, but only to have related Things not true of those Persons he has treated of. There are without doubt many Mistakes and Transactions misreported in the Writings of *Ctesias*, and so there are in *Herodotus*, and in every other Heathen Historian; but it would be a very unfair way of criticizing, to set aside a whole Work as fabulous, for some Errors or Falshoods found

found in it. However, *H. Stephens* has justly observed, that it was the *Indian History of Ctesias*, and not his *Persian* (*a*), that was most liable to the Objections of these Writers; in that indeed he might sometimes romance, for we do not find he wrote it from such authentic Vouchers: But in his *Persian History* there are evident Proofs (*b*) that he had a Disposition to tell the Truth, where he might have Motives to the contrary: In a Word, tho' he might be mistaken in the Grandeur of the first Kings, thinks their Armies more numerous than they really were, and their Empires greater, and their Buildings more magnificent, yet there is no room to imagine that he could pretend to put off a List of Kings, as extracted from the *Persian Records*, whose Names were never in them; or if he had attempted to forge one, he could hardly have happened to fill up so exactly the Interval, without making it more or less than it appears to have been from the

(*a*) Hen. Stephanus in *Disquisitione de Ctesia*. (*b*) *Id. ibid.*

Hebrew Scriptures, and from what was afterwards observed from the *Chaldean* Astronomy.

I am sensible that the Account which *Callisthenes* is said to give of the Cœlestial Observations at *Babylon*, is called in question by the same Writers that dispute *Ctesias's* Authority, but with as little Reason. They quote *Pliny* (a), who affirms *Berosus* to say, that the *Babylonians* had Cœlestial Observations for 480 Years backwards from his Times; and *Epigenes* to assert, that they had such Observations for 720 Years back from his Time; and they would infer from hence, that the *Babylonian* Observations reached no higher; but it is remarkable, that both *Berosus* and *Epigenes* suppose their Observations to be no earlier than *Nabonassar*; for from *Nabonassar*, to the Time in which *Berosus* flourished, is about 480 Years, and to the Times of *Epigenes* about 720 (b). The *Babylonians* had not (as I have observed) settled a good Measure

(a) Plin. l. 7. c. 56. (b) Marsham Can. p. 474.

of a Year, until about this Time, and therefore could not be exact in their more ancient Computations. *Syncellus* (b) remarks upon them to this Purpose, and for this Reason *Berosus*, *Epigenes*, and *Ptolemy* afterwards, took no Notice of what they had observed before *Nabonassar*, not intending to assert, that they had made no Observations, but, their Astronomy not being at all exact, their Observations were not thought worth examining.

There are some other Arguments offered to invalidate the Accounts of *Ctesias*: It is remarked, that the Names of his Kings are *Persian*, or *Greek*, and not *Assyrian*; and it is said, that he represents the State of *Assyria* otherwise than it appears to have been *Gen. xiv.* when *Abraham* with his Household beat the Armies of the King of *Shinaar*, *Elam*, and three other Kings with them: But the Latter of these Objections will be answered in its Place, and the Former, I conceive, can have no Weight with the

(b) *Syncell.* p. 207.

Learned, who know what a Variety of Names are given to the Men of the first Ages, by Writers of different Nations.

Upon the whole, *Ctesias's* Catalogue of the first *Assyrian* Kings seems a very consistent and well-grounded Correction of *Herodotus's* Hearsay and imperfect Relation of their Antiquities, and as such it has been received by *Diodorus Siculus*, by *Cephaleon* and *Castor*, by *Trogus Pompeius*, and *Velleius Paterculus*, and afterwards by *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*. Sir *John Marsham* raised the first Doubts about it (a); but I can't but think, that the Accounts which he endeavours to give of the Original of the *Assyrians*, will be always reckoned amongst the Peculiarities of that learned Gentleman. There are some small Differences amongst the Writers that have copied from *Ctesias*, about the true Number of Kings from *Ninus* to *Sar-*

(a) *Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 485. speaking of Ctesias's Catalogue, he says, De cujus Veritate, cum nemo adhuc sit qui dubitaverit, &c.*

danapalus, as well as about the sum of the Duration of their Reigns; but if what I have offered in Defence of *Ctesias* himself may be admitted, the Mistakes of those that have copied from him will easily be corrected in their proper Places.

I hope the Digressions in this Work will not be thought too many, or too tedious; they were occasioned by the Circumstances of the Times I treat of. I have not made it my Business to write at large upon any of them; but I thought a few general Hints of what might be offered upon them, would be both acceptable to the Reader; and not foreign to the Purpose I have in Hand; all of them, if duly considered, tending very evidently to the illustrating the Sacred History. There are two Subjects which the Reader might expect at the Beginning of this Work; one of them is the Account of the Creation of the World, the other is the State of *Adam* and *Eve* in Paradise, their Fall, and their Loss of it. Of the

the Former of these I would give some Account in this Place; the latter, I think, may be treated with greater Clearness when I come hereafter to speak of *Moses* and his Writings.

I. The Account which *Moses* gives of the Creation, is to this Purpose:

In the Beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth.

The Earth after it was created was for some time a confused and indigested Mass of Matter, a dark and unformed Chaos; but God in six Days reduced it into a World in the following manner:

First, The Spirit of God moved upon the fluid Matter, and separated the Parts it consisted of, from one another; some of them shined like the Light of the Day, others were opake like the Darkness of the Night; God separated them one from the other; and this was the first Step taken in the Formation of the World.

Secondly,

Secondly, God thought it proper to have an (a) Expansion between the Earth and Heaven, capable of supporting Clouds of Water; the appointing this Expansion, and suspending the Waters in it, was the Work of the second Day.

Thirdly, After this, God caused the Waters of the Earth to be drawn off, so as to drain the Ground, and thus were the Seas gathered together, and the dry Land appeared, and then God produced from the Earth all manner of Trees, and Grass, and Herbs, and Fruits.

On the Fourth Day God made the Lights of Heaven capable of being serviceable to the World in several Respects, fitted to distribute Light and Heat, to divide Day and Night, and to mark out Time, Seasons, and Years; two of them were more especially remarkable, the Sun and the Moon: The Sun he made to shine in the Day, the Moon in the Night, and he gave the Stars their proper Places.

(a) *Rachiang* properly signifies an Expansion, and not what is implied by the Greek Word *σφαιρωμα*, or our English Word Firmament.

Fifthly, Out of the Waters God created all the Fishes of the Sea, and the Fowls of the Air.

On the Sixth Day, out of the Earth God made all the other living Creatures, Beasts, and Cattle, and every thing that creepeth upon the Earth; and last of all he made Man, a more noble Creature than any of the rest: He made his Body of the Dust of the Earth, and afterwards animated him with a living Soul. And out of the Man he made the Woman. This is the Substance of the Account which *Moses* has given of the Creation of the World. *Moses* did not write 'till above 2300 Years after the Creation, but we have nothing extant so ancient as this Account.

II. We have several Heathen Fragments, which express many of the Sentiments of *Moses* about the Creation. The Scene of Learning, in the first Ages, lay in *India*, in the Countries near to *Babylon*, in *Egypt*, and in time it spread into *Greece*.

The *Indians* have been much famed for their ancient Learning. *Megasthenes* is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus* (a), representing the *Indians* and the *Jews* as the great Masters of the Learning, which afterwards the *Greeks* were famous for; but the Antiquities of these Nations have either been but little known, or their ancient Learning is by some Accident lost, for our best late Enquirers can now meet no Remains of it. *Strabo* and *Clemens Alexandrinus* give Hints of several Notions amongst them, which would argue them to have been a very learned People; but the only considerable Specimen we now have of their Litterature, is the Writings of *Confucius*; their present Notions of Philosophy are mean and vulgar, and whatever their ancient Learning was, it was either destroyed by their Emperor *Zio*, who, they say, burnt all their ancient Books, or by some other Accident it is lost.

The Works of the most ancient *Phœnician*, *Egyptian*, and of many of the

(a) Strom. Lib. 1. p. 360. Edit. Oxon.

Greek Writers, are also perished, but succeeding Generations have accidentally preserved many of their Notions, and we have considerable Fragments of their Writings transmitted to us. The Egyptians, as *Diodorus Siculus* (a) informs us, affirmed that *In the Beginning the Heavens and the Earth were in one Lump, mixed and blended together in the same Mass.* This Position may at first sight seem to differ from *Moses*, who makes the Heavens and the Earth distinct at their first Creation; but it is obvious to observe, that the Egyptians did not take the Word *Heaven* in the large and extended Sense, but only signified by it the Air and Planetary Regions belonging to our World; for the first Greeks, who had their Learning from *Egypt*, agree very fully with *Moses* in this Point. *In the Beginning, says Orpheus* (b), *the Heavens were made by God, and in the Heavens there was a Chaos, and a terrible Darknes was on all*

(a) Diodor. Sic. l. i. (b) Suid. voc. 'Ορφ: Cedren. ex Timol. p. 57. Procl. in Tim. βιβ. 6'. p. 117.

the Parts of this Chaos, and covered all Things under the Heaven. This Position is very agreeable to that of Moses: In the Beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth, and the Earth was without Form, and void, i. e. was a Chaos, and Darkness was upon the Face of the Deep. Orpheus did not conceive the Heavens and the Earth to have ever been in one Mass, for as Syrian (a) observes, the Heavens and the Chaos were, according to Orpheus, the Principia out of which the rest were produced.

The ancient Heathen Writers do not generally begin their Accounts so high as the Creation of the Heavens and the Chaos, they commonly go no further backward than to the Formation of the Chaos into a World. *Moses describes this in the following manner: The Earth was without Form, and void, and Darkness was upon the Face of the Deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters. Anaxagoras, as*

(a) Aristot. Metaph. p. 2.

Laertius informs us, began his Book (a), *All Things were at first in one Mass, but an intelligent Agent came and put them in order; or as Aristotle (b) gives us his Opinion, All things, says he, lay in one Mass, for a vast Space of Time, but an intelligent Agent came and put them in Motion, and so separated them from one another.* We have Sanchoniathon's Account of Things in Eusebius, and if we throw aside the Mythology and false Philosophy which those that lived after him added to his Writings, we may pick up a few very ancient and remarkable Truths, namely, that there was a dark and confused Chaos, and a Blast of Wind or Air, to put it in a Ferment or Agitation; this Wind he calls ἀνεμὸς Κολπία, not the Wind Colpia, as Eusebius seems to take it, but ἀνεμὸς Col-Pi-Fah, i. e. (c) the Wind or Breath of the Voice of the Mouth of the Lord; and if this was

(a) Πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἶτα Νῆς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε. (b) Φησὶ γὰρ Ἀναξαγόρας, ὁμοῦ πάντων ὄντων καὶ ἡρεμάντων ἢ ἀπεισιν χεῖνοι, κίνησιν ἐμποιῆσαι ἢ νῆν καὶ διακεῖναι. Arist. Phys. Aufc. l. 8. c. 1. (c) יהוה-פיו-רוח.

his Meaning, he very emphatically expresses God's making all things with a Word, and intimates also what the *Chaldee* Paraphrast insinuates from the Words of *Moses*, that the Chaos was put into its first Agitation by a mighty and strong Wind.

Some general Hints of these things are to be found in many of the Remains of the ancient *Greek* Writers. *Thales's* Opinion was, that the first Principle of all Things was ὕδωρ, or Water (a). And this *Tully* affirms to (b) have been his Opinion; but it should be remarked from *Plutarch's* Observation, that *Thales's* ὕδωρ was not pure Elementary Water. The Successors of *Thales* came by degrees to imagine, that Water, by being condensed, might be made Earth, and by being rarified would evaporate into Air; and some Writers have hence imagined, that *Thales* thought Water to be the *Initium Rerum*, i. e. the

(a) Ἀρχὴ τῶν πάντων ὕδωρ ὑπεήσατο. Laert.

(b) Lib. de Natura Deorum 1. § 10. Thales Milesius Aquam dixit esse Initium Rerum.

first Principle out of which all other Things were made: But this was not *Thales's* Doctrine. The ancient Philosophers are said to have called Water, Chaos, from $\chiέω$ the *Greek* Word, which signifies Diffusion, so that the Word Chaos was used ambiguously, sometimes as a proper Name, and sometimes for Water; and 'tis conceived, that this might occasion *Thales's* Opinion to be mistaken, and himself to be represented as asserting the Beginning of things to be from *Chaos, Water*, when he meant from a Chaos. But take him in the other Sense, asserting Things to have arisen from Water, 'tis easy to suppose him to mean, by Water, a fluid Substance, for this was the ancient Doctrine; and thus *Sanchoniathon* argues, from the Chaos he supposes $\gamma\mu$ or Muddy Matter to arise; and thus *Orpheus* (a), out of the fluid Chaos, arose a muddy Substance; and *Apolonius* (b), Out of the muddy Substance

(a) Ἐκ τῆς ὕδατος ἰλύς κατέσθη. (b) Ἐξ ἰλῆς ἐβλάσθησεν
 χθών αὐτή.

the Earth was formed, *i. e.* says the Scholiast, the Chaos of which all things were made, was a fluid Substance; this, by settling, became Mud, and that in time dried and condensed into solid Earth. It is remarkable that *Moses* calls the Chaos, Water, in this Sense; the Spirit of God, he says, moved upon the Face of the *Maim*, Waters, or fluid Matter.

The Fragments to be collected from the *Greek* Writers are but few and short, the *Egyptian* are something larger. According to *Diodorus* (*a*), they assert, 1. as I have before hinted, That the Heavens and Earth were at first in one confused and mixed Heap. 2. That upon a Separation, the lightest and most fiery Parts flew upwards (*b*), and became the Lights of Heaven. 3. That the Earth was in time drained of the Water. 4. That the moist Clay of the Earth, enlivened by (*c*) the

(*a*) Lib. 1. (*b*) This was the Opinion of Empedocles. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς πυνεῖνὰ τὰ ἄστρα ἐν τῷ πυρῶδους, ὅπερ ὁ αἰθὴρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιέχων ἔξέθλιψε κατὰ τὴν πρῶτην δίσκωσιν. Plutarch. Placit. Phil. 2. 13. (*c*) Τὰ ζῶα ἐν τῷ ἰλύῳ γεννηθῆναι, was a Position embraced by Archelaus, and several other Greeks.

Heat of the Sun, brought forth living Creatures, and Men. A very little Turn would accommodate these Particulars to those of *Moses*, as may be seen by comparing the Account of *Diodorus* with that which is given us by the Author of the *Pimander* in *Jamblichus*. The ancient Philosophy had been variously commented upon, disguised and disfigured, according as the Idolatry of the World had corrupted Men's Notions, or the Speculations of the Learned had misled them, before the Times of *Diodorus Siculus*; and it is so far from being an Objection, that the Accounts he gives do in some Points differ from *Moses*, that 'tis rather a Wonder that he, or any other Writer, could, after so many Revolutions of Religion, of Learning, of Kingdoms, of Ages, be able to collect from the Remains of Antiquity any Positions so agreeable to one another, as those which he has given us, and the Accounts of *Moses* are.

But III. Tho' the Ancients have hinted many of the Positions laid down
by

by *Moses*, yet we do not find that they ever made use of any true or solid Reasoning, or were Masters of any clear and well-grounded Learning, which might lead them to the Knowledge of these Truths. All the Knowledge which the Ancients had in these Points lay at first in a narrow Compass; they were in possession of a few Truths, which they had received from their Forefathers; they transmitted these to their Children, only telling them that such and such Things were so, but not giving them Reasons for, or Demonstrations of the Truth of them. Philosophy (*a*) was not disputative until it came into *Greece*; the ancient Professors had no Controversies about it; they received what was handed down to them, and out of the Treasure of their Traditions imparted to others, and the Principles they went upon to teach or to learn by, were not to search into the Nature of Things, or to consider what they could find by Philosophical

(*a*) Clem. Alex. Strom. 8. ad Princip.

Examinations, but, *Ask and it shall be told you; Search the Records of Antiquity, and you shall find what you enquire after*; These were the Maxims and Directions of their Studies.

And this was the Method in which the ancient *Greeks* were instructed in the *Egyptian* Physiology. The *Egyptians* taught their Disciples Geometry, Astronomy, Physick, and some other Arts, and in these, 'tis likely, they laid a Foundation, and taught the Elements and Principles of each Science; but in Physiology the Case was quite otherwise; the *Egyptians* themselves knew but little of it, tho' they made the most of their small Stock of (a) Knowledge, by keeping it concealed, and diverting their Students from attempting to search and examine it to the Bottom. If at any Time they were obliged to admit an Enquirer into their *Arcana*, we find (b) they did it in the following manner:
 1. They put him upon studying their common Letters; in the next Place he

(a) Strabo Lib. 17. p. 806. (b) Clem. Alexand. Strom. 5.

was to acquaint himself with their Sacred Character; and in the last Place to make himself Master of their Hieroglyphick; and after he had thus qualified himself, he was permitted to search and examine their Collections, and to decypher what he found in them. And thus they did not furnish their Students with the Reasons of Things, or teach them by a Course of Argument, to raise a Theory of the Powers of Nature, for in truth they themselves had never turn'd their Studies this Way. The Art (c) which they had cultivated, was that of disguising and concealing their Traditions from the Vulgar; and so instead of supporting them with Reason and Argument, they had expressed them in mystical Sentences, and wrote them down in intricate and uncommon Characters, and all that the Student had to do, was to unravel these Intricacies, to learn to read what was written, and to be able to explain a dark and enigmatical Sentence, and to give it its true Meaning.

(c) Id. *ibid.*

P R E F A C E.

If we look into the Accounts we have of them, we shall find, that the most eminent *Greek* Masters of this Part of Learning, were not Men of retired Study and Speculation, but industrious Travellers, who took Pains to collect the ancient Traditions. The first Hints of Physiology were brought into *Greece* by the Poets, *Hesiod*, *Homer*, *Linus*, and some others; but these Men had taken up their Notions too hastily; they gathered up a few of the *Egyptian* Fables, but they had not search'd deep enough into their ancient Treasures; so that in a little Time their Notions, tho' they had taken Root amongst the Vulgar, and were made Sacred by being of Use and Service in Religion, came to be overlooked by Men of Parts and Enquiry, who endeavoured to search after a better Philosophy. From *Pherecydes* the Son of *Badis*, to the Times of *Aristotle*, are about 300 Years, and during all that Space of Time, Philosophy, in all its Branches, was cultivated by the greatest Wits of *Greece*, with all possible Industry;

P R E F A C E.

11

stry; but they had only *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, and *Plato*, who were the eminent Masters, all the other Philosophers must be ranged under these, as being only Explainers or Commentators upon the Works of these, or at most the Builders of an Hypothesis, from some Hints given by them. *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, and *Plato*, were the Originals of the *Greek* Learning, and it is remarkable, that they did not invent that Part of their Philosophy which I am treating of, but they travelled for it, and collected it from the Records of other Nations.

Thales, we find (a), travelled to *Egypt*, and after having spent some Years there, he brought home with him a few Traditions, which, tho' but few, obtained him the Credit of being the first who made a Dissertation upon Nature (b), for in Truth, all before him was Fable and Allegory; but *Thales* was so far from having furnished himself with all that might be collected, or from pretending to build a Theory of Natural

(a) Laert. (b) Πρώτος δὲ καὶ περὶ φύσεως διαλέχθη Id.

Knowledge upon Principles of Speculation, that he advised (a) *Pythagoras*, who studied for some time under him, to finish his Studies in the Way and Method that himself had taken; and according to his Directions, *Pythagoras*, for above Forty Years together (b), travelled from Nation to Nation, from *Greece* to *Phœnicia*, from *Phœnicia* to *Egypt*, and from *Egypt* to *Babylon*, searching every Place he came at, and gathering all the Traditions he could meet with, omitting to converse with no Person eminent for Learning, and endeavouring to collect from the *Egyptians* and the *Jews*, and all others he could meet with, every ancient *Dogma*. These were the Pursuits of *Pythagoras*, and this his Course of Study, and from his diligent Searches he acquired a great Stock of ancient Truths, collected in such a manner, that 'tis no Wonder he afterwards taught them with an Air of Authority

(a) Jamblic. de vit. Pythag. (b) Porph. de vit. Pyth. & Jamblic. Voss. de Philol. Sect. l. 2. c. 2. §. 2. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. Id. Strom. 5. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 6. Joseph. contra Apion. Orig. adv. Cels. l. 1.

condemned by *Cicero* (a), who would have set Philosophy upon the Basis of Reason and Argument; but *Pythagoras* took up his Notions upon the Authority of others, and could therefore give them to his Disciples no otherwise than he had them. His *αὐτὸς ἔφη* was the Proof of what he asserted, for he had collected, not invented his Science, and so he declared or delivered what he had gathered up, but he did not pretend to argue, or give Reasons for it.

If we look into the Writings of *Plato*, we may see that he confessed what I am contending for, in the freest manner. He never asserted his Physiology to be the Product of his Invention, or the Result of rational Enquiries and Speculations, but acknowledged it to be a Collection of Traditions gleaned up from the Remains of those that liv'd before him. In the general, he asserts (b), that the *Greeks* received their most valuable Learning from the Traditions of *Barbarians* more ancient than them-

(a) Lib. de Nat. Deorum, l. 5. (b) in Cratyl. p. 426.

selves; and often speaks of *Phœnician* and *Syrian*, i. e. *Hebrew* Fables (a), as the Ground of many of their Notions. He particularly instances a *Phœnician* Fable (b) concerning the Fraternity of Mankind, and their first Derivation from the Ground, or Earth; and confesses (c) that their Knowledge of the Deity was derived from the Gods, who communicated it to Men by one *Prometheus*; nay, he calls it a Tradition which the Ancients, who, says he, were better, and dwelt nearer the Gods than we, have transmitted to us. In his Treatise *De Legibus* (d), he makes mention of an ancient Tradition about the Nature of God. And in his *Phædo* (e), treating of the Immortality of the Soul, he introduces *Socrates* reminding his Friend, that they had an ancient Tradition asserting it, and that the surest and best way to prove it was by the Divine Account or Tradition of it. In his *Timæus* (f), being about to treat of the Origin

(a) See Bochart's *Phaleg.* l. 4. c. 24. (b) *Lib. de Rep.* 3. p. 414. (c) In *Phileb.* p. 17. (d) *De Legib.* l. 3. (e) In *Phædon.* p. 96. (f) In *Timæo* p. 29.

of the Universe, he lays down this Preliminary, *It is just, that both I who discourse, and you that judge, should remember that we are but Men, and therefore receiving the probable Mythologic Tradition, it is meet that we enquire no further into it.* In his *Politicus* (a), he gives a large Account of *Adam's* State of Innocence, in the Fable of *Saturn's* Golden Age, which he was so far from taking in the Literal Sense of the Poets, that he complains of the Want of a fit Interpreter to give it its true Meaning. In the same manner his Fable of *Porus's* getting drunk in *Jupiter's* Garden, was very probably derived from the ancient Accounts of *Adam's* Fall in the Garden of *Eden*. In short, *Plato's* Works are every where full of the ancient Traditions, which, as he had collected very carefully, so he always endeavoured to deliver without Art or Reserve, excepting only some fabulous Turn, which he was now and then forced to give them, to humour the *Greeks*.

(a) P. 272.

There were many Philosophers amongst the *Greeks*, who in their several Times endeavoured to reason upon the Positions that had been laid down by these Masters, and to form a System by Deductions of Argument and Speculation, but all their Attempts this way proved idle and insufficient; Truth suffered, instead of being advanced by them. *Pherecydes* endeavoured to form a System from the Poets (*a*), and wrote a *Theogonia* in Ten Books, but his Performance was dark and fabulous, full of Fancy and Allegory, but in no wise a Specimen of true Philosophy. The Followers of *Thales* made Attempts of the same sort, with as little Success. *Anaximander* and *Anaximenes* endeavoured to form a System upon *Thales's* Principles; but instead of clearing any thing that had been advanced by their Master, or of opening a way to more Truth, than he had discovered, they rather puzzled his Philosophy with a Number of intricate and confused No-

(a) Laert. Ger. Voss. de Histor. Græc. l. 4. c. 4.

tions. *Anaxagoras* undertook to correct the Mistakes of *Anaximenes* and *Anaximander*, and pretended to set *Thales's* Principles in their true Light, and he is clear and consistent just so far as he keeps to *Thales's* Traditions; but wherever we find him attempting to speculate and give Reasons, there he appears but trifling and inconclusive.

Amongst all these Philosophers, *Leucippus* and *Democritus* seem to have laid the best Foundation for a good and rational Theory of Nature. They did not puzzle themselves with (a) hard Words of no Meaning, harmonic Forms, Ideas, Qualities, and Elements; but considered Matter as a System of infinitely small Individuals, contained in an infinite Extension of Void or Space; but however they came by these Principles, they either set them in so different a Light, or the Studies of others had carried them into Notions so opposite, that this Scheme, which had the

(a) Burnet. Archæol.

most Truths in it, was less understood and more exploded than any other.

As the Traditions of *Thales* suffered by being mingled with the Philosophy of his Successors, so the Doctrines of *Pythagoras* met the same Fate. His Disciples were willing to have a System, and to give Reasons for the Truths they had to offer; but if we consider what Reasons they gave, what Schemes they built, what Comments they made upon their Master's Doctrines, we shall be abundantly convinced, that the Doctrines of *Pythagoras* were not invented by their way of Reasoning. The *Pythagoreans* must be allowed to have been in possession of many considerable Truths, but the Reasons and Arguments they offered to prove them by, are weak and frivolous, and the Additions they made to them are trifling and inconsistent, and all their Speculations so false, or so idle, as to shew that they did not think well enough to discover the noble and just Sentiments which they had concerning the Works of Nature.

ture. We have nothing of *Pythagoras* now extant, nor (a) are we certain that he ever wrote any Philosophical Composition; 'tis most probable that all his vast Stock of Knowledge was contained in a select Number of Sentences, which he expressed after the manner of the *Egyptians*, and explained to his Disciples; but we have several *Pythagorean* Fragments, the Attempts of his Followers; and a complete Book of *Timæus Locrus*; and we may see from any of these Performances, that as soon as these Men ventured to enlarge beyond the *Dogmata* of their Master, and advanced Speculations which they had not his Authority to support; instead of maintaining the Credit of their Philosophy, they corrupted it by degrees, made it subtil and unintelligible, until in time they sunk it to nothing.

The last of the ancient Philosophers was *Aristotle*, his System was indeed invented. He rejected the ancient Tradi-

(a) Ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεωρεῖται Πυθαγόρας. μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἰδίων καταλείπει. Lucian in Libro pro L. p. s. inter Sautandum. The Books ascribed to him by Pliny and other Writers are esteemed fictitious.

tional Knowledge, thinking it unbecoming a Philosopher to offer Opinions to the World, which he could not prove to be true; but then I am sensible it will be allowed me, that what he advanced is so totally distant from Truth, that he will never be an Instance of an Ancient, who by Reason and good Argument produced a well-grounded Theory of Natural Knowledge.

And thus if we look over all the Philosophers, and consider what the Treasures of Knowledge were, which they had amongst them, we shall find that there were many Beams of true Light shining amidst their dark and confused Notions; but this Light was never derived from any Use of their Reason, for they never could give any reasonable Account of it. The invisible Things of God had been some way or other related to them, and as long as they were contented to transmit to Posterity, what their Ancestors had transmitted to them, so long they preserved a considerable Number of Truths; but whenever they attempted to give Reasons

sions for these Opinions, then in a little time they bewildred themselves, under a Notion of advancing their Science, then they ceased to retain the Truth in their Knowledge, changed the true Principles of Things, which had been delivered to them, into a false, weak and inconsistent Scheme of ill-grounded Philosophy. And now let us see,

IV. What does necessarily follow, if this be true. If the Natural Knowledge which the Ancients had was Traditionnal; if the succeeding Generation received down only some Reports from the Generation that went before it; Where was the Fountain? Who was the Author of this Knowledge? *Moses* was as unlikely as another, to make Discovery of these Truths, by any Powers of Reason; he was indeed *learned in all the Learning of the Egyptians*, but we do not find any Principles in the *Egyptian* Learning that could lead into the Secret of these Things. It is remarkable that *Moses's* Account of the Creation is a bare Recital of Facts, no Shew of Argument or Speculation appears in it. He
relates

relates that things were created in such and such a manner ; but has no Attempt of Argument to establish or account for any Part of his Relation. We must, I think, allow *Moses* either to have had these Truths imparted to him by immediate Revelation, or we must say that he collected the *Dogmata* of those that lived before him. If we chuse the latter Opinion, the Question still remains, Who taught the Predecessors of *Moses* these Things? Let us trace up to the first Man—How, or whence had he this Knowledge? (a) How should *Adam* discover the manner of his own Creation, or describe the Formation of the World, which was formed before he had any Being? Besides, if these Things were discoverable by Reason, and *Adam*, or any other Person brought them to Light by a due Course of Thinking, and related them to their Children ; what were the Traces of this Reasoning? Where to be

(a) Nec aliquid interfuit eo Tempore, quo Mundus certum Diem habuit ortus sui, nec aliquid interfuit eo Tempore quo Mundus Divinæ Mentis ac providi Numinis Ratione formatus est: nec eo usque se Intentio potuit humanæ Fragilitatis extendere, ut Originem Mundi facile possit Ratione concipere aut explicare. Julius Firmicus maternus. Mathes. Lib. 3. c. 2.

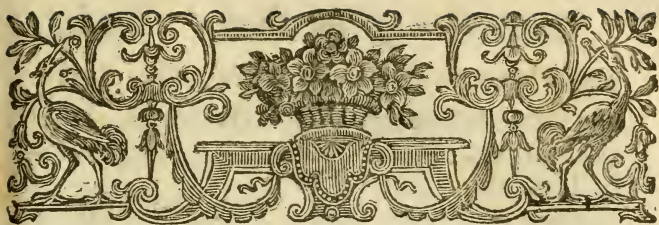
found? or, How were they lost? 'Tis strange these things should be so obvious at first, that an early Attempt should discover so much Truth, and that all the Wit and Learning that came after, for five or six thousand Years, should, instead of improving it, only puzzle and confound it. If *Adam*, or some other Person of extraordinary Learning, had by a Chain of Reasoning brought these Truths into the World, some Hints or other of the Argument would have remained, as well as the Truths produced by it; or some succeeding Author would, at one time or other, have reasoned as fortunately as his Predecessor, but nothing of this sort happened; instead of it we find, that the early Ages had a great Stock of Truths, which they were so far from having Learning enough to invent or discover, that they could not so much as give a good Account of the true Meaning of many of them. A due Consideration of these Things must lead us to believe, that God at first revealed these Things unto Men; he acquainted them with what he had done in the Cre-

ation

ation of the World, and what he had thus communicated to them, they transmitted to their Children's Children. And thus *God, who in these last Days hath spoken unto us by his Son, did in the Beginning* in some extraordinary manner *speak unto our Fathers*; for there was a Stock of Knowledge in the World, which we cannot see how the Possessors of it could possibly have obtained any other way; and therefore Fact, as well as History, testifies, that the Notion of a Revelation is no Dream, and that *Moses* in representing the early Ages of the World to have had a Converse with the Deity, does no more than what the State of their Knowledge obliges us to believe of them.

Shelton, Norf.
Oct. 2, 1727.





The SACRED *and* PROPHANE

HISTORY

Of the WORLD *Connected.*

B O O K I.



W HATEVER may have been the Opinions of Philosophers, or the Fables of Poets about the Origin of Mankind, We are sufficiently informed from (a) History, that we are descended from two Persons, *Adam* and *Eve*: They lived in the Eastern Parts of the World; their first Children were *Cain* and *Abel*: *Jose-*

(a) Gen. i. 26. ii. 7, &c. Sanchoniatho begins Mankind from two Mortals, Protoponus and Eon; the other Heathen Writers are not so particular. Diodorus Siculus formed his Account of the Origin of Mankind, not from History, but from what he thought to be the ancient Philosophy.

phus (b) mentions their having Daughters, but does not say how many; what their Names were, (c) when they were born, or how they married.

Cain and *Abel* grew Men, but were of a different Genius and Disposition; *Cain* was an Husbandman, *Abel* a Shepherd: *Abel* was more virtuous than his Brother, and when they brought their Offerings, his Sacrifice was accepted beyond *Cain's*: *Cain* hereupon took a private Opportunity, and out of Envy and Malice killed him. And this was the first Act of Violence committed in the World; it proceeded from a Principle, which many Actions of the same sort have since proceeded from, a Spirit of Emulation, which being not duly managed, and made a Spur to Virtue, took an unhappy Turn, and degenerated into Malice and Revenge. Soon after *Cain* had committed this wicked Action, God appeared to him: --- but the Examination and Result of this Affair will be best seen, if I add it in three or four Particulars.

(b) Antiquit. Lib. i. c. 2. p. 7. (c) Some Writers have imagined that *Cain* and *Abel* were Twins, but the Account of their Births, Gen. iv. 1, 2. contradicts this Notion. Others have supposed [See *Selden de Jure Naturali & Gentium*, Lib. v. c. 8.] that *Eve* at each of their Births brought forth a Daughter, and that *Cain* married the Daughter born with *Abel*, and *Abel* the Daughter born with *Cain*: but the trifling Concoits of this sort that might be mentioned are innumerable.

1. God had before both vindicated Himself, and excused *Abel*, from having either of them given the least Reason for this violent and unjust Proceeding: God had indeed accepted *Abel's* Offering beyond *Cain's*; but that was owing to *Abel's* being better than *Cain*, and not to any Partiality in God; for if *Cain* would have been as deserving, he should have been as well accepted. *If thou dost well* [said God to him (d)] *shalt thou not?* i. e. thou shalt be accepted: but if thou dost not well, † *Sin lieth at the Door*. And as to *Abel*; He had not affected to slight *Cain*, or to set himself above him; *Abel* would always have been heartily disposed to pay him all Respect; and *Cain* might have had all the Superiority of an elder Brother; for so God argued with him, (e) *Unto thee shall be his Desire* [or will be] *and thou shalt rule over Him*, i. e. Thou may'st be his Superior.

The Expositors seem to treat this as a very difficult Passage, and there are several very wild and foreign Senses put upon the Words, *Unto thee shall be his Desire*: The true meaning of them is clear and easy, if we consider that there are two Expressions in the *Hebrew* Tongue to signify

(d) Gen. iv. 7. † Dr. Lightfoot renders the Word *Chataah* here, a *Sin-offering*, as if God had reprehended *Cain* for not making a due *Atonement* for his Sins. See hereafter in Book 2.

(e) Gen. iv. 7.

the Readiness of one Person to serve or respect another. The one of them expresses an outward Attendance, the other the inward Temper or Readiness of Mind to pay Respect or Honour. עיניאל-ויד [aine el yad] or, our Eyes are to his Hand, is the one Expression. תשיקהאל [Teshukah el] or, our Desire is to him, is the other. Of the former we have an Instance, *Psalms* cxxxiii. *The Eyes of Servants are to the Hand of their Masters, and the Eyes of a Maiden are to the Hand of her Mistress*, i. e. they stand ready with a vigilant Observance to execute their Orders. We meet the other Expression in the Place before us, in *Gen.* iii. 16. and it imports an inward Temper and Disposition of Mind to pay Respect and Honour. *His Desire will be unto thee*, i. e. he will be heartily devoted (as we say in *English*) to honour and respect you, and *thou shalt* [or may'st] *rule over him*, i. e. you may have any Service from him you can desire.

I have had an Interpretation of this 7th Verse communicated to me by a Person of very great Learning, and I find the (f) Critics favour it. He thought the whole Verse was spoke of *Cain's Sin*, that the *Hebrew* Words might be translated as I have interlined them † below (g), and

(f) See Synop. Critic. in loc.

† (g) Eum gubernares tu sed Appetitus ejus quidem te Apud.

ואליך תשוקתו ואתה תמשל בו that

that it might be Englished thus, *If thou dost well shalt thou not be accepted, but if thou dost not well Sin lyeth at the Door; indeed the Appetite of it [i. e. of Sin] will be at thee [i. e. to tempt thee] but thou shouldst rule over it.* But the Words will, I think, in no wise bear this Sense תְּשׁוּקָתוֹ [Teshukato] is not the Desire or Appetite of *it*, but of *Him*. And בּוֹ [Bo] does not signify *it* but *Him*. And the Expression תְּשׁוּקָתוֹ אֵלֶיךָ [eleka Teshukato] is the Hebrew Expression for, *He will heartily respect Thee*, and not for, *Sin will tempt Thee*.

2. After *Cain* had been so wicked as to kill his Brother, God was pleased to pass a very just Sentence upon Him: his Aim was to have made himself great and flourishing, in Favor with God, and Credit with Men, without any one to stand in Competition with him; but he was disappointed in every Particular he aimed at, for his attempting to compass his Designs so wickedly: The Ground was sentenced not to yield him her Strength, (b) i. e. He was to be unprosperous in his Husbandry and Tillage; and instead of being in God's Favor without Rival, he was henceforwards (i) to be hid from his Face, i. e. He was not to have any longer that happy Converse with the Deity, which

(b) Gen. iv. 11, 12.

(i) Ver. 14.

these first Ages of the World were bless'd with; and he was to be (k) a Fugitive and a Vagabond, so far from being able to live amongst his Friends with Credit and Satisfaction, that the Sense of what he had done should so † hurry him, as to Force him to retire from them to a distant Part of the World, as a mischievous Person, not fit to live and be endured amongst them.

3. Cain had in a little time a full Conviction of his Folly and Wickedness. He repeats over (l) God's Sentence against himself, as acknowledging the Justice of it, and withal thought so ill of himself, and had so true a Sense of his Crime, as to imagine (m) that every one that happen'd on him would kill him, that Mankind would rise against him, as a Person not fit to be suffered to live, and in their own Defence destroy him: A Sense of these Things moved him to a great Compuncti^on, *Is my Sin* (cry'd He) *too great to be forgiven?* for this is the true Sense of Verse 13. We translate the Words, *My Punishment is greater than I can bear*: But the Hebrew Word [יַי] ‡ *aven* signifies Iniquity rather than Punishment, and the Verb [נָשָׂא] *nashta*

(k) Gen. iv. 12. † The Hebrew Words express an unsettledness of Mind, which probably induced the LXX. to translate them *σενων* καὶ *τρέμων*. (l) Ver. 14. (m) Ibid. ‡ See the Word so used 1 Sam. xx. 8. and in other Places of Scripture so used very often, particularly Job. xi. 6.

signifies to be forgiven, as well as to bear; and the Verse may be rendred either positively, *My Iniquity is too great to be forgiven*, or the (n) Hebrew Expositors take it by way of Interrogation, *Is my Iniquity too great to be forgiven?* And this last Sense is the best; for,

4. Upon *Cain's* being brought to a Sorrow for his Sin, God was pleas'd in some measure to pardon his Transgression: There was as yet no exprefs Law against Murder, and God (o) gave a strict Charge that no one should for this Fact destroy *Cain*: Some (p) Writers make this an Addition to his Punishment, but I see no Reason for their Opinion. As *Moses* has represented this Affair, it appears, that *Cain* was very sorry for what he had done, and acknowledged the just Sentence of God against him, but represented that He should be in continual Danger of a still further Evil; namely, that it should come to pass, that every one that should find him, or happen on him, should kill him: Hereupon he bewailed the Wretched State he had brought himself into, and cry'd, *Is my Sin too great to be forgiven?* Can I find no Mercy? No Mitigation of the Punishment I have brought upon my self? Hereupon God was pleas'd so far to favour him, as

(n) See Fagius in loco. (o) Gen. iv. 15. (p) Fagius, Menochius, Tirnius, and other Expositors, give the Place this Sense.

Connection of the Sacred Book I.

to give Orders that no one should kill him, and to make him easy by giving him Assurance of it: For so

The Words Ver. 15. which we render *God set a Mark upon Cain*, should be interpreted. The *Hebrew* Word אֹת [Aoth] is a Sign or Token. The Bow [Gen. ix.] was to be לְאוֹת [Leaoth] for a Sign or Token that the World should be no more destroyed by Water. So here the Expression וַיִּשֶׂם יְהוָה לְקַץ אֹת [vejashem Jehovah leccain Aoht] is not as we render it, *And God set a mark upon Cain*, but, God gave or appointed to Cain a Sign or Token, [i. e. to assure him] that no One should kill him. And here I might observe that there is no Foundation in the Original, for the GuesSES and Conjectures about the Mark set upon Cain; about which so many Writers have egregiously trifled (q).

After

(q) *The Ridiculous Conjectures upon this Point have been almost without Number. Some imagine that God imprest a Letter on his Forehead. And others have been so curious in their Enquiries, as to pretend to tell what the Letter was. A Letter of the Word Abel, say some; the four Letters of Jehovah, say others; or a Letter expressing his Repentance, say a third Sort of Writers. There have been some that imagined that Abel's Dog was appointed to go with him where-ever he went, to warn People not to kill him; but this does not come up to the Humour of a Mark set on Cain. and therefore other Writers rather think his Face and Forehead were Leprous; others, that his Mark was a wild Aspect and terrible rolling Eyes; others say he was subject to a terrible Trembling, so as to be scarce able to get his Food to his Mouth, a Notion taken from the LXX. who translate Fugitive and Vagabond, σείρων ἢ τρέμων. And there are some Writers that have improved this Conceit, by adding, that where-ever he went the Earth shook and trembled round about him. But there*

is

Who would be wick to kill him?

After this, *Cain* removed with his Wife and Children from the Place where he had before lived, and travelled into (r) the Land of *Nod*: Here he settled, and as his Family encreased, took Care to have their Dwellings built near to one another, and so made a little Town or City, which he called *Enoch* (s), from a Son he had of that Name: Here his Descendants flourished 'till the Flood; they were the Mechanicks and Tradesmen of the Age they lived in. The Sons of *Lamech*, who was the fifth in Descent from *Cain*, were the chief Artificers of their Time. *Lamech* (t) had two Wives, *Adab* and *Zillah*; by *Adab* he had two Sons, *Jabal* and *Jubal*. (u) *Jabal* invented Tents and gathered together Herds of Cattle. (w) *Jubal* found out Music. By *Zillah* he had a Son named *Tubal Cain*, (x) who invented the Working of Bras and Iron; and a Daughter called *Naamah*: *Moses* only mentions her Name, the Rabbins (y) say, She was the Inventer of Spinning. The Descendants of *Cain* lived a long Time in some Fear of the Family of *Adam*, lest they should attempt to revenge upon them *Abel's* Death. It is supposed (z) that it

is another Notion of *Cain's* Mark, as good as any of the rest, namely, that he had a Horn fixed on his Forehead, to teach all Men to avoid him. (r) Gen. iv. 16. (s) Ver. 17. (t) Ver. 19. (u) Ver. 20. (w) Ver. 21. (x) Ver. 22. (y) See Genebrard in Chron. & Lyra. (z) Menochius in loc.

was for this Reason that *Cain* built a City, that his Children might live near together, and be able more easily to join and unite for the common Safety. *Lamech* endeavoured to reason them out of these Fears, and therefore calling his Family together, he argued with them to this Purpose: “ Why should we make our Lives uneasy
 “ with these groundless Suspicions? what
 “ have we done that we should be afraid
 “ of? We have not killed a Man, nor offered any Injury to our Brethren of the
 “ other Family; and surely Reason must
 “ teach them, that they can have no Right
 “ to hurt us. *Cain* indeed, our Ancestor,
 “ killed *Abel*, but God was pleased so far
 “ to forgive his Sin, as to threaten to take
 “ seven-fold Vengeance on any One, that
 “ should kill him; if so, surely they must
 “ expect a much greater Punishment, who
 “ shall presume to kill any of us; if
 “ *Cain* shall be avenged seven-fold, surely
 “ *Lamech*, or any of his innocent Family, seventy-seven-fold.” This I take to be the Meaning of the Speech of *Lamech* to his Wives, *Gen.* iv. 23. *Moses* has introduced it, without any Connection with what went before or follows after, so that at first Sight ’tis not easy to know what to apply it to; the Expression it self is but dark, and the Expositors have attempted to explain it very imperfectly. The Rabbins tell a traditional Story, which they

they say, will lead us to the Meaning of it: They inform us, That "*Lamech* being
 " blind, took his Son *Tubal Cain* to hunt
 " with him in the Woods, where they
 " happened of *Cain*, who used to lurk up
 " and down in the Thickets, afraid of the
 " Converse and Society of Men, that the
 " Lad mistook him for some Beast stir-
 " ring in the Bushes, and that *Lamech* by
 " the Direction of *Tubal Cain*, with a Dart
 " or Arrow killed him, this they say was
 " the Man he killed *by his wounding him.*
 " Afterwards when he came to see what
 " he had done, he beat *Tubal Cain* to
 " Death for mis-informing him, and so
 " killed a Young Man *by hurting* or beat-
 " ing *him.*" But this unsupported old Sto-
 ry is too idle to need a Confutation. The
 most probable Sense of the Words is, I
 think, that, which I have given them in
 the Paraphrase above. *I have slain a Man,*
 should be read interrogatively, *have I slain*
a Man? i. e. I have not slain a Man, *to my*
wounding, i. e. that I should be wounded for
 it, *nor a young Man to my Hurt*, i. e. nor have
 I killed a Young Man, that I should be hurt
 or punished for it. And this is the Sense which
 the *Targum* of *Onkelos* most excellently
 gives the Place. I have not killed a Man,
 (says *Onkelos*) that I should bear the Sin of
 it, nor have I destroyed a Young Man, that
 my Off-spring should be cut off for it:
 and the Words of the next Verse agree to
 this

this Sense so exactly, *there will be a seven-fold Vengeance paid for killing Cain, surely than a seventy times seven for killing Lamech*, that I wonder how *Onkelos* should mistake the true Meaning of *them*, when he had so justly expressed the Sense of the other.

Adam, soon after *Cain's* leaving him, had a Son (*a*) whom he named *Seth*; what other Children he had we are not certain, (*b*) we are told he had several, both Sons and Daughters, probably a Number of both suitable to the many Years of his Life, and to the Encrease necessary to people the World. *Moses* has given us only the Genealogy from *Seth* to *Noah*. The Children of *Seth* lived separate from the rest of Mankind, (*c*) they led a pastoral Life, dedicated themselves to the Service of God, and in a little time, in the Days of *Enos*, the Son of *Seth*, were distinguished by the Name of (*d*) The Sons of God. It is uncertain how long the Children of this Family were so eminent for their Virtue: *Enoch*, one of them, was a Person of a distinguished Character, and the Integrity of his Life obtained him a Passage into a better World (*e*) without dying. It is probable

(a) Gen. iv. 25. (b) Chap. v. 4. (c) Joseph. *Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 2.* (d) Gen. iv. 26. (e) *We might perhaps be inclined by some of the Versions to think that Enoch died a Natural Death, and that his Translation here mentioned, was only such a*
Transla-

bable that all the Persons mentioned by *Moses* from *Seth* to *Noah*, lived up to their Duties, for the Flood was, as it were, deferred, until they were safe out of the World. In the Days of *Noah* there was a general Impiety. The (*f*) Sons of God married the Daughters of Men; the Children of *Seth* took Wives out of the other Families, and *an evil Communication corrupted their Manners*: The Wickedness of the World grew to such an Height, that it pleased God to determine to destroy it. *Noah* was a just and upright Man, and he found (*g*) Favor with God. God discovered to Him, that He intended to destroy the Inhabitants of the World by a Flood (*b*) about 120 Years beforehand, and instructed Him how to save himself and Family, and a few Creatures of every Sort from the Deluge.

Noah hereupon, according to God's Directions, built an Ark, about (*i*) six hundred Feet

Translation as is spoken of Wisd. iv. 10, 11. But the Writer of the Book of the Hebrews takes it very clearly in another Sense, Heb. xi. 5. By Faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see Death. (f) Gen. vi. 2. (g) Ver. 8. (b) I suppose God determin'd that Mankind should be still continuod 120 Years, Ver. 3. about the Time that he communicated his Intentions of a Flood to Noah. (i) The Hebrews made use of three Sorts of Cubits. 1. The Common Cubit, which was about One Foot and half of our Measure. 2. The Sacred Cubit, which was an Hand's breadth more than the Common Cubit. 3. The Geometrical Cubit, which was about Nine Feet. The Reader, if he consults Buteo's Treatise about the Ark, or reads what Pool has collected Syn. Critic. in loc. may be satisf-

Hand's breadth, 3 inches & about

Feet long, an hundred Feet wide, and sixty Feet deep, contrived into three Stories; into this Ark he gathered such (k) a Number of the Creatures as God appointed him, and having prepared sufficient Provision, He and his Wife, and their three Sons and their Wives, went into the Ark in the sixth hundredth Year of *Noah's* Life, about the (l) Beginning of our *November*, according to the *Hebrew* Computation, *Anno Mundi* 1656, and God caused a Flood of Water over all the World, thirty Feet higher than the highest Moun-

satisfied, that the Ark is to be measured by the Common Cubit. The Standard of the common Cubit was that Part of a Man's Arm, which reaches from the bent of the Elbow to the Point of the middle Finger. If we think the Stature of Mankind in Moses's Time larger than it is now, we may suppose the common Cubit something larger than we should now compute it; if not, the strict Measure of the Ark will be, Length 450 Feet, Breadth 75, Height 45, and the best Writers generally agree, that the common Stature of Mankind has always been much the same that it now is. (k) The Number of Creatures taken into the Ark is very ingeniously conjectured by Butæo and Bishop Wilkins, and the Substance of what both have said upon the Subject is set down in Pool's Syn. Crit. Vide Pool in loc. — (l) The second Hebrew Month, before the Children of Israel were delivered out of Ægypt, was Marchesvan, which begins about the middle of our October, and ends about the middle of our November. After that Deliverance, the Beginning of the Year was altered, and Nisan made the first Month, but this Alteration of the Year was observed by the Jews only in calculating their Fasts and Feasts, and Ecclesiastical Computations, and 'tis not likely that the Book of Genesis contains any Computation of this latter Sort, so the 17th Day of the second Month, Gen. vii. 11. the Day on which the Flood began, is 17 of Marchesvan, i. e. first or second of our November. Mr. Whiston says November 28, Theory p. 142.

tains, and thereby destroyed the Inhabitants of it.

This is all the History which *Moses* has given us of the Antediluvian World. We have short Hints of those Times in the Remains of some Heathen Writers, and if we make Allowance for the Fables, which the Heathen Theology had introduced into all Parts of their early History, the Substance of what they offer agrees very remarkably with the Accounts of *Moses*. *Berosus* wrote the History of the *Chaldæans*: *Sanchoniatho*, of the *Phœnicians*; and the Antiquities of *Egypt* were collected by *Manetho* the *Egyptian*. It may not be amiss to examine the Remains of these Writers, in order to see what their Accounts are of the first Ages of the World. And,

I. As to the History of *Berosus*,[†] the Substance of it, as it is given us from *Abidenus*, *Apollodorus*, and *Alexander*[†] *Polybi-ster*,[‡] is to this purpose, That there were ten Kings of *Chaldæa* before the Flood, *Alorus*, *Alasparus*, *Amelon*, *Amenon*, *Metalarius*, *Daorus*, *Aedorachus*, *Amphis*, *Oliartes*, *Xisuthrus*; That *Xisuthrus* was warned in a Dream that Mankind was to be destroyed by a Flood upon the 15th Day of the Month *Dæsius*, and that he should build a sort of Ship, and go into it

† Vid. Euseb. Chron.

with

+ Crisis of 2^d Temple of Belus at Babylon

with his Friends and Kindred, and that he should make a Provision of Meat and Drink, and take into his Vessel Fowls and four-footed Beasts: That *Xifuthrus* acted according to the Admonition; built a Ship, and put into it all that he was commanded, and went into it with his Wife and Children, and dearest Friends. When the Flood was come, and began to abate, *Xifuthrus* let out some Birds, which finding no Food nor Place to rest on, returned to the Ship again: After some Days he let out the Birds again, but they came back with their Legs daubed with Mud. Some Days after, he let them go the third time, but then they came to the Ship no more; *Xifuthrus* understood hereby that the Earth appeared again above the Waters, and taking down some of the Boards of the Ship, he saw that it rested upon a Mountain: Some time after he and his Wife and his Pilot went out of the Ship, to offer Sacrifice to the Gods, and they were never seen by those in the Ship more. But the Persons in the Ship, after seeking him in vain, went to *Babylon*. — The *Xifuthrus* here mentioned was evidently *Noah*. And *Berosus* supposes from *Alorus* to *Xifuthrus* ten Generations, and so many *Moses* computes from *Adam* to *Noah*.

II. The History of *Sanchoniatho* is to this Effect. † That the first Mortals were

† in Euseb. Præp. Evang.

lected by *Manetho*; and here, I must confess, we meet with great Difficulties. The Records of most Nations fall short of the Flood; neither *Chaldæa* nor *Phœnicia* have offered any thing that can seem to be before *Moses's* Time of the Creation; but *Manetho* pretends to produce Antiquities of *Egypt*, that reach higher than the Creation by thousands of Years.*

The Accounts of *Manetho* seem at first sight so extravagant, that many (a) good Writers look upon them as mere Fictions, and omit attempting to say any thing about them; but other learned Men (b) are not so well satisfied with this Proceeding, but think that by a due Examination the *Egyptian* Dynasties may be made tolerably clear, and reduced at least to a degree of Probability. The Misfortune is, we have none of the original Works, from whence they were collected, or which gave account of them. The Historians, *Diodorus Siculus* and *Herodotus*, did not examine these Matters to the Bottom, and we have no Remains of the old *Egyptian* Chronicon, or of the Works of *Manetho*, except only some Quotations in the Works of other Writers. The *Chronographia* of *Syncellus*,

* Scaliger supposes his Julian Period to begin above 700 Years before the World, but imagined the Egyptian Dynasties to reach higher than the Beginning of that Period by above 7000 Years. See Can. Isag. l. 2. p. 123.

(a) Petav. Doctrin. Temp. l. 10. c. 17. (b) Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 1.

wrote by one *George* an Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Simeon*, and called *Syncellus*, as being Suffragan to *Tarasius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, is the only Work we have to go to for these Antiquities: *Syncellus* collected the Quotations of the old *Chronicon*, and of *Manetho*, and of *Eratosthenes*, as he found them in the Works of *Africanus* and *Eusebius*; and the Works of *Africanus* and *Eusebius* being now lost (for it is well known that the Work that goes under the Name of *Eusebius's Chronicon* is a Composition of *Scaliger's*) We have nothing to be depended upon, but what we find in *Syncellus* abovementioned.

Our learned Countryman Sir *John Marsham* has collected from *Syncellus* the Opinions of these Writers, and it must appear to any one that considers what he has offered from them, (a) that they every one in their turn took great Liberties in correcting and altering, what they pretended to copy from one another; and tho' every one of them took a different Scheme, yet not one of them could give a clear and consistent Account of the *Egyptian Dynasties*. Sir *John Marsham* comes the nearest to it of any; the Account he gives from *Menes* downward is exceedingly probable, being consistent with the Histories of other Nations; and he has given some Hints,

(a) Marsham Can. Περὶ αἰτίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως.

which may, I think, lead to a very good Explication of those Dynasties which preceded *Menes*.

The *Egyptian* Dynasties are by all, that have treated of them, allowed to give an Account, *First* of their Gods, *Secondly* of their Demi-Gods and Heroes, *Thirdly* of their Kings; and in this Order the Historians agree to treat of the *Egyptian* Antiquities. (*d*) From *Menes* downward the Account is clear, if we take it as Sir *John Marsham* has explained it: The Number of Kings are too many, if supposed to succeed one another, as *Manetho* imagined; but if we suppose them to be Cotemporaries, as Sir *John Marsham* has represented them, the Accounts of *Egypt* from *Menes* or *Mizraim* will be easy, and will agree very well with the Accounts we have of other Nations. *Africanus* with good (*e*) Reason imagined all that is prior to or before *Menes* to be Antediluvian; some broken Reports of what was the State of *Egypt* before the Flood. Let us therefore consider the Antiquities of *Egypt* in this View, and trace them backwards. The Kings, the first of whom was *Menes*, reigned after the Flood. Who were the Demi-gods and Heroes that preceded them? how many were they? and how long did they reign? In the next Place we must

(*d*) See Diodorus L. 1.

(*e*) Syncellus, p. 54.

enquire who were the Gods of *Egypt*, and what are their Reigns? and perhaps such a Thread of Enquiry as this may help us thro' the Difficulties of the *Egyptian* Antiquities.

The Substance of the *Egyptian* Accounts is, That there were 30 Dynasties in *Egypt*, consisting of 113 Generations, and which took up the Space of 36525 Years: That after this Period was run, then there reigned eight Demi-gods in the Space of 217 Years: After them succeeded the *Cycli Cynici*, i. e. according to *Manetho* (a) a Race of Heroes, in number 15, and their Reigns took up 443 Years; then began the Reigns of their Kings, the first of whom was *Menes*.

Menes therefore, by *Syncellus* called *Mestram*, being the *Mizraim* of *Moses*, the eight Demigods and fifteen Heroes that reigned in *Egypt* before him, were, as *Manetho* rightly conjectures, Antediluvians; and we have to enquire how their Reigns took up 217, and 443, in all 660 Years.

Now in order to explain what is meant by the Number of Years in these Reigns, I would observe, that perhaps *Egypt* was peopled no more than 660 Years before the Flood; which may be true, tho' we suppose an elder Son of *Adam's* to have

(a) *Syncell.* p. 40.

brought a Colony thither. *Seth* was born in the 130th Year of *Adam's* Life, and *Seth* lived till within 614 Years of the Flood, and therefore a Son of *Adam* but a Century younger than *Seth*, (and *Adam* lived 800 Years after the Birth of *Seth*, and begat Sons and Daughters) might plant *Egypt*, and live 150 Years at the Head of his Plantation; or if we suppose it first planted by some Children of *Adam*, two or three Centuries younger, they might come to *Egypt* in the Flower of their Days.

It must indeed be allowed that the eight Demi-gods, and the fifteen Heroes, cannot be a Series of Kings succeeding one another; for seven Generations in such a Succession would take up very near the Number of Years allotted to all of them, as may be seen by looking into the Lives of *Adam's* Descendants, set down by *Moses*. If we begin 46 Years before the Death of *Seth*, we may see that *Enos* lived 98 Years after *Seth*, *Cainan* 95 Years after *Enos*, *Mahalaleel* 55 Years after *Cainan*, *Jared* 132 Years after *Mahalaleel*, *Enoch* was translated before his Father's Death, *Methuselah* died 234 Years after *Jared*, and in the Year of the Flood, and *Lamech* died before *Methuselah*; the Succession of these Men, and there are but Seven of them, and a short Piece of *Seth's* Life, took up 660 Years, and therefore if the Lives of the other Branches of *Adam's* Family

mily were of the same Length with these, as it is probable they were, eight Demi-gods and 15 Heroes, 23 Persons, could not succeed one another in so few Years. In this Point therefore the *Egyptian* Writers make great Difficulties, by supposing these Demi-Gods and Heroes to Reign one after another, when it is impossible to find a good Account of the Times of such successive Reigns, or to bring the whole Series of them within the Compass of Time allotted to them; but we may make this Difficulty easy, if we suppose the eight Demi-gods to be Cotemporaries, Persons of great Eminence and Figure in the Age they lived in, and the fifteen Heroes, who lived after these Demigods, cotemporary with one another; and I think their different Titles, as well as what we find about them in the Historians, lead us to this Notion of them. If these Persons were a successive Number of Kings, from the first of them to the Flood, why should eight of them be called Demi-gods, and the rest but Heroes? The superior Appellation of the first eight, looks as if they stood upon an equal Ground with one another, but something higher than those that came after them. And perhaps they were eight Children of *Adam*, and he had certainly enow to spare many times Eight to people the several Parts of the World. These came together with their Families

into *Egypt*, lived all within the Compass of 217 Years (which is an easy Supposition) and being all the Heads of the Families that came with them, and were descended from them, they might be so revered by their Posterity, as to have a Title superior to what their Descendants attained to. And it is observable, that the Historians who mention them, give them Names very favourable to this Account of them; the Demi-gods, according to *Diodorus*, (a) were *Sol*, *Saturnus*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Vulcanus*, *Vesta*, *Mercurius*; and these are the Names of Persons, not of different, but of the same Descent; Brothers and Sisters, some of whom, according to what was the early Custom in *Adam's* Family, married one another. In like manner, if we look among their Heroes, we shall find them of the same sort; *Osyris* and *Isis*, *Typhon* and *Apollo* and *Venus*, are all said to be Children of the same Family; they taught Agriculture and other useful Arts, and thereby made themselves famous, and we are told (b) that several of them went up and down together, and were therefore Cotemporaries; and it is easy to suppose Fifteen of them, the Number which the old *Chronicon* mentions, to flourish within the Space of 443 Years: And thus it will appear, that the Reigns of the Demi-

(a) Lib. 1. (b) Id. ibid.

gods and Heroes reach up to the very first peopling of *Egypt*, and therefore what they offer about a Race of Gods superior to and before these, must belong to Ages before the Creation of the World.

It was a very usual and customary Thing, for the Ancient Writers to begin their Antiquities with some Account of the Origin of Things, and the Creation of the World. *Moses* did so in his Book of *Genesis*; *Sanchoniatho's Phœnician History* began in the same Manner, and it appears from *Diodorus* (a) that the *Egyptian* Antiquities did so too. Their Accounts began with Speculations about the Origin of Things, and the Nature of the Gods: then follows an Account of their Demi-gods and terrestrial Deities; after them come their Heroes, or first Rank of Men; and last of all their Kings. Now if their Kings began from the Flood; if their Heroes and Demi-gods reach'd up to the Beginning of the World; then the Account they give of the Reigns of Gods before these, can be only their Theological Speculations put into such Order as they thought most truly Philosophical.

The first and most ancient Gods of the *Egyptians*, and of all other Heathen Nations, after they had departed from the Worship of the true God, were the Luminaries of

(a) Lib. 1.

Heaven; and it is very probable, that what they took to be the Period or Time, in which any of these Deities finished its Course, that they might call the Time of its Reign; thus a perfect and compleat Revolution of any Star which they worship'd, was the Reign of that Star: And tho' it might be tedious to trace too far into their antiquated Philosophy, in order to find out how they came to imagine that the Revolutions of the several Heavenly Bodies answered to such a Number of Years, as they ascribed to their respective Reigns; yet it is remarkable, that a whole intire Revolution of the Heavens took up, according to their Computations, exactly the Number of Years ascribed by them to all their Gods. A Period of 36525 Years, is what they call an intire Mundane Revolution, and brings on the ἀποκατάστασις κοσμική: In this space of Time, they say, the several Heavenly Bodies do exactly go thro' all the Relations which they can have in their Motions to one another, and come round to the same Point from which all their Courses began. These Heavenly Bodies therefore being their Gods, such a perfect and intire Revolution of them is a compleat Reign of all the Gods, and contained 36525 Years.

But to the first of their Gods, called here *Vulcan*, they assign no Time, his Reign is unlimited. I suppose they meant here-

hereby to intimate that the Supreme God was eternal, his Power infinite, his Reign not confined to any one, or any Number of Ages, but extending itself thro' all: And such high Notions the *Egyptians* certainly had of the Supreme Deity, tho' they had also buried them in Heaps of the grossest Errors. This I take to be a true Account of the *Egyptian* Dynasties, and if it be so, their History is not so extravagant as has been imagined. The Substance of what they offer is, That the Supreme God is eternal, — to his Reign they assign no Time: That the Sun, Moon and Stars ran their Courses thousands of Years before Man was upon the Earth; into this Notion they were led by their Astronomy: That *Egypt* was peopled 660 Years before the Flood; and very probably it might not be peopled sooner, considering that Mankind began in *Chaldæa*, and that the first Plantation went Eastward with *Cain*, and that *Seth* and his Family settled near Home. — Amongst these first Inhabitants of *Egypt* there were eight Demi-gods, and fifteen Heroes, i. e. three and twenty Persons illustrious and eminent in their Generations. After the Flood reigned *Menes*, whom *Moses* called *Mizraim*, and after *Mizraim* a Succession of Kings down to *Nectanebus*.

Manetho wrote his History by Order of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, some time after the
Sep-

Septuagint Translation was made. When the *Hebrew* Antiquities were published to the World, the *Egyptians* grew jealous of the Honour of their Nation, and were willing to shew that they could trace up their Memoirs, even higher than *Moses* could carry those of the *Israelites*: For this End *Manetho* made his Collection; it was his Design to make the *Egyptian* Antiquities reach as far backwards as he could, and therefore as many Kings Names as he could find in their Records, so many successive Monarchs he determined them to have had; not considering that *Egypt* was at first divided into three, and afterwards into four Sovereignties for some time, so that three or four of his Kings many times reigned together. When he got up to *Menes*, then he set down the Names of such Persons as had been famous before the Times of this their first King; and then, it being a Point of his Religion that their Gods had reigned on Earth, and their Astronomy teaching that the Reigns of the Gods took up the Space of 36525 Years, he added these also, and by this Management his Antiquities seem to reach higher than the Accounts of *Moses*; When in reality, if rightly interpreted, they fall short of *Moses*, by such a Number of Years, as we may fairly suppose might pass, before Mankind could be so

increas'd as to people the Earth, from *Chaldæa*, the Place where *Adam* and *Eve* lived, unto *Egypt*.

The *Chinese* have been suppos'd to have Records that reach higher than the History of *Moses*: But we find by the best Accounts of their Antiquities that this is false. Their Antiquities reach no higher than the Times of *Noah*, for *Fobi* was their first King. They pretend to no History or Memoirs that reach up higher than his Times; and by all their Accounts, the Age of *Fobi* coincides with that of *Moses's Noah*. Their Writers in the general agree, that *Fobi* lived about 2952 Years before Christ: The Author *Mirandorum in Sinâ & Europâ* computes him to Reign but 2847 Years before our Saviour; and *Alvarez Sevedo* places his Reign not so early, imagining it to be but 2060 Years; and all these Computations agree well enough with the Times of *Noah*; for *Noah* was born, according to Arch-bishop *Usher*, 2948 Years, and died 2016 Years before Christ; so that all the several Computations about *Fobi*, fall pretty near within the Compass of *Noah's* Life. But we shall hereafter see many Reasons to conclude *Moses's Noah* and the *Chinese Fobi* to be the same Person.

The Length of the Lives of Mankind in this World was very remarkable. (a) Mo-

(a) Gen. v.

ses numbers the Years of some of their Lives as follows.

		Years.
<i>Adam</i> lived	—	930
<i>Seth</i>	— —	912
<i>Enos</i>	— —	905
<i>Cainan</i>	— —	910
<i>Mahalaleel</i>	—	895
<i>Jared</i>	— —	962
<i>Enoch</i>	— —	365
<i>Methuselah</i>	—	969
<i>Lamech</i>	— —	777

Some Persons have thought it incredible that the human Frame should ever have endured to so great a Period; and for that Reason they suppose that the Years here mentioned are but Lunar, consisting each of about thirty Days: But this Scheme, under a Notion of reducing the Antediluvian Lives to our Standard, is full of Absurdities. The whole Time of this first World would, at this rate, be less than 130 Years. *Methuselah* himself would have been little more than 80 Years old, not so long-lived as many even now are. The Persons above mentioned would have had Children, when mere Infants. Besides, if we compute the Ages of those who lived after the Flood, by this way of Reckoning, and we have no Reason from the Text to alter, they will not amount to the Years of a Man. *Abraham* for Instance, who is said to have died in a good old Age, an old

old Man and full of Years, was, (a) as *Moses* writes, 175 Years old; but according to the Notion of Lunar Years, he could not be fifteen. The Years, therefore, that *Moses* computed these Men's Lives by, were Solar Years, of much (b) the same Length as we now compute by, and there must have been some Reason in their State and Constitution, and in the Temperament of the World they lived in, to give them that exceeding Length of Days, which they were able to come up to: Their Houses of Clay could stand eight or nine hundred Years; when, alas! those We now build of the hardest Stone or Marble will scarce last so long.

The Curiosity of the Learned in all Ages has been much employed in finding out the Reasons of this Longevity: Some Writers have attributed it to the Simplicity of their Diet, and to the Sobriety of their living; both of them indeed excellent Means to support Nature, and to make us able to attain our utmost Period, but not sufficient to account for so vast a Difference as there is betwen our and their Term of Life. We have had moderate and abstemious Persons in latter Ages, and yet they have very rarely exceeded 100 Years.

(a) Gen. xxv. 7. (b) Not exactly as long, for the Ancients generally computed 12 Months, of 30 Days each, to be a Year.

Other Writers have imagined the Length of these Men's Lives to have been owing to the Strength of their *Stamina*; they think that we are made of more corruptible Materials, of a Nature not so strong as these Men were, and therefore cannot last so long as they did: but this cannot be the sole Cause of their long Lives, for if it were, why should the Sons of *Noah*; who had all the Strength of an Antediluvian Constitution, fall so (a) far short of the Age of their Forefathers? This, and the manner of the Decline of our Lives, led a (b) very ingenious Writer to imagine, that this Alteration of the Length of human Life was in a great measure owing to a Change of the Temperament of the World; that the Equality of the Seasons, and Evenness of Weather, in the first Earth, were in a great measure the Cause of that Length of Life enjoyed by the Inhabitants of it; and that the vast Contrariety of Seasons and Weather, which we now have, is a great Reason for the Shortness of our Days.

If we examine the Proportion in which human Life shortned, we shall find this Longevity sunk half in half immediately after the Flood; and after that it sunk by gentler degrees, but was still in Motion and Declension, 'till it fix'd at length, before

(a) *Shem lived to but 600 Years.*

(b) *Dr. Burnet.*

David's time [*Pſalm* xc. 10. † called a *Pſalm of Moſes*] in that which has been the common Standard of Man's Age ever ſince: And how ſtrongly does this intimate that our Decay was not owing to irregular Living, or to a Debility of Nature only, but to our being, as I might ſay, removed into a different World? for we ſared like ſome excellent Fruit tranſplanted from its native Soil into a worſe Ground and unkindier Climate, it degenerates continually 'till it comes to ſuch a degree of Meaneſs as ſuits the Air and Soil it is removed into, and then it ſtands without any further Depravity or Alteration.

The Antediluvians were placed, according to the beſt and moſt Philoſophical Notions we can form of the then World, under a conſtant Serenity and Equality of the Heavens, in an Earth ſo ſituated with regard to the Sun, as to have a perpetual Æquinox, and an even Temperature of the Seaſons, without any conſiderable Variety or Alteration; and hence it came to paſs that the human Body could, by the Nourishment it is made capable of receiving, continue unimpair'd to many Generations, there being no external Violence to cauſe

† Dr. Burnet ſeems to hint in this manner, that the Length of our Lives was reduced to 70 Years about Moſes's Time; but Mr. Whiſton obſerves, that moſt of the Perſons mentioned in Scripture, who lived to old Age, far exceeded that Standard, 'till about David's Time. Chron. p. 10.

Decay in any Part of its Texture and Constitution. But when Men came to live in the World after the Flood, the World was much altered: The State of the Earth and Heavens was not the same they had before been, there were many Changes of Seasons, wet and dry, hot and cold, and these of course cause many Fermentations in the Blood and Resolutions of the Humours of the Body, they weaken the Fibres and Organs of our Frame, and by degrees unfit them for their respective Functions. *Noah* had lived six hundred Years in the first World, so that we may reasonably suppose he had contracted a Firmness of Constitution, to be able to weather out the Inconveniences of the new World, and we find his Life was not sensibly shortned by them; but his Children came into this second World very young Men, before their Natures were fixed and hardned, and so they scarce exceeded two thirds of what they might probably have otherwise lived to. The next Generation, who began their Lives in this disadvantageous State of things, fell a third Part short of them. The Change is not indeed immediately sensible, but it stands with Reason that the repeated Impressions every Year of unequal Heat and Cold, Dryness and Moisture, should by contracting and relaxing the Fibres, bring in time their Tone to a manifest Debility, and cause a Decay
in

in the lesser Springs of our Bodies; and the lesser Springs failing, the greater, that in some measure depend upon them, must in proportion fail also, and all the Symptoms of Decay and old Age follow. We see by Experience, that Bodies are kept better in the same Medium, as we call it, than if they often change their Medium, and be sometimes in Air, sometimes in Water, moisten'd and dry'd, heated and cool'd; these different States weaken the Contexture of the Parts: But this has been our Condition in this present World, we are put into an hundred different Mediums in the Course of a Year: sometimes we are steep'd in Water, or in a misty foggy Air for several Days together, sometimes we are almost frozen with Cold, then as it were melted with Heat, and the Winds are of a different Nature, and the Air of a different Weight and Pressure, according to the Weather and Seasons: And now all these things must contribute apace to our Decline, must agitate the Air in the little Pores and Chinks of our Bodies very unequally, and thereby shake and unsettle our Frame continually, must wear us very fast, and bring us to old Age and Decay in a short time, in comparison of what we might have lived to, if we lived as the Antediluvians, we think, did, in a fixed Course of Nature, incompass'd always in the same Medium, breathing always an Air of one

and the same Temper, suited exactly to their Frame and Constitution, and not likely to offer them any Violence without, or raise any Fermentation within. †

The Number of Persons in this first World must have been very great: If we think it uncertain, from the Difference between the *Hebrew* and LXX in this Particular, at what Time of Life they might have their first Children, let us make the greatest allowance that is possible, and suppose that they had no Children 'till they were 100 Years old, and none after 500, yet still the Encrease of this World must have been prodigious. There are several Authors, which have formed Calculations of it, and they suppose upon a moderate Computation that there were in this World at least Two Millions of Millions of Souls, which they think is a Number far exceeding that of the Inhabitants of the present Earth.

It would be very entertaining, if we could have a view of the Religion, Politics, Arts or Sciences of this numerous People; but we can only make a few Conjectures about them: As to their Religion, it is certain, 1. that they had *Adam* for above 900 Years, to instruct them in all he knew of the Creation of the World, and of the manner how he and *Eve* came into

† See Dr. Burnet's *Theory*, Vol. 1, B. ii. ch. 2, 3, 4.

it; and tho' I think there is no Reason to magnify *Adam's* Knowledge, as some Writers have done, yet it must surely be beyond all Question, that the Inhabitants of this first World were most sensibly convinced of God's being the Creator of all Things: they needed no Deductions of Reason, or much Faith to lead them to this Truth: they were almost Eye-witnesses of it: *Methuselah* died but a little before the Flood, and lived 245 Years with *Adam*; so that, tho' the World had stood above 1600 Years at the Deluge, yet the Tradition of the Creation had passed but thro' two Hands. 2. They had a very remarkable Promise made them by God in the Judgment passed upon the Serpent: *I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and between her Seed and thy Seed, He shall bruise thy Head, and thou shalt bruise his Heel.* 3. God was more sensibly present in the World then, than he now is. He appeared to them by Angels; he caused them to hear Voices, or to dream Dreams; and by these, and such extraordinary ways and means as these were, he convinced them of their Duties, instructed them in his Will, and gave them Directions for the Conduct of their Lives: And in this Sense many good and virtuous Men in this first World, and for several Ages after the Flood, had the Happiness

to walk with God; to have an Intercourse with the Deity, by divers extraordinary Revelations of himself, which he was pleased to give them in all Parts of their Lives, if they took care to live up to their Duties: If indeed any of them ran into evil Courses of Sin and Wickedness, then they are said *to be hid from the Face of the Lord*; or God is said *to turn away his Face from them*; or, *to cast them away from his Presence*; by all which Expressions is meant, that from that time the Intercourse between God and them ceased, and that God so far left them, as to give them none of those Revelations and Directions about his Will and their Conduct, which they might otherwise have had from him. And as this was the State of the first World with regard to God's Presence in it; So, 4^{thly}, I believe from hence was derived the Religion of it, God himself teaching those Persons he was pleased to converse with, what Sacrifices he would have offered, what religious Ceremonies they should use, and how they should order themselves in his Worship. We do not meet any of God's express Orders in these Matters before the Flood, for the History is very short; after the Flood we have a great many: but the very Nature of the Worship that was in Use, does sufficiently evidence, that it came into Use from divine Appointment, and was not invented

vented by the Wit of Man. Sacrifices were offered from the Fall of *Adam*; *Cain* and *Abel*, we are sure, used them: and the Method of worshipping by Sacrifices does in no wise appear to be an human Contrivance, invented by the natural Light or common Reason of Men. If God had never appeared to the first Men at all, Reason alone, if rightly used, would have induced them to think that there was a God, and that they were obliged to live in his Fear a virtuous Life, and it might have led them to have prayed to Him in their Wants, and to have praised and adored Him for his Favours; but I cannot see upon what Thread or Train of Thinking, they could possibly be led to make Attonement for their Sins, or Acknowledgments for the divine Favours, by the Oblations or Expiations of any sorts of Sacrifice: it is much more reasonable to think that God himself appointed this Worship. All Nations in the World have used it. They that were so happy as to walk with God, were instructed in it from Age to Age: the rest of Mankind, who had caused God to turn his Face from them, and to leave them to themselves, continued the Method of Worship, they had before learned, and so sacrificed; but they invented in time new Rites and new Sacrifices, according to their Humours and Fancies, and by degrees de-

parted from the true Worship, and at length from the true God.

We meet with several Particulars about the Religion of the Antediluvians.

1. That they had stated annual and weekly Sacrifices; that *Cain* and *Abel*, when they came to offer, came to one of these solemn and publick Acts of Worship. These Things may perhaps be true, but we have no certain Evidence that they are so. *Aristotle* is quoted to confirm this Opinion, who says that such stated Sacrifices were from the Beginning; but it should be considered, that the Heathen Records commonly fall vastly short of these Times, and when *Aristotle* or any other such Writer speaks of a Thing as practised from the Beginning, they can fairly be supposed to mean no more than that it was in use earlier than the Times of which they had any History; which it might easily be, and at the same time be much more modern than the Beginning of the World. Other Writers would prove this Opinion from some Words of Scripture. *Mikkets Jamim*, Gen. iv. ver. 3. signify, some say, At the End of the Week, others say, At the End of the Year; but these I think are precarious Criticisms. The Words fairly construed, are no more than, At the End of Days, or, as we render them, In Process of Time.

2. Some

*Aristotle was
principle of
to - bon
Stoigia, in
adon -
or 270
C. Praeceptor
Alexander.*

2. Some have thought that the first Institution of publick Worship, was in the Days of *Enos* the Son of *Seth*; others, that not the publick Worship of God, but that Idolatry or false Worship, took its Rise at that Time: both these Opinions are founded upon the Expression at the End of *Gen. iv.* *Then began Men to call upon the Name of the Lord.*

The Defenders of the first Opinion construe the *Hebrew* Words in the following manner, *Then Men began to invoke the Name of the Lord*, i. e. to set up and join in publick Invocations of it; for as to private ones, they had without doubt used them from the Beginning. This Interpretation is more easy and natural than that which follows it; לקרא בשם [*likra be Shem*] seems pretty well to answer our *English* Expression, To call upon the Name, or invoke it, but קרא [*Kara*] is a Verb transitive, and קרא שם [*Kara Shem*] might signify to invoke the Name, but קרא בשם [*Kara be Shem*] has quite another Meaning.

The Authors of the second Opinion, who would prove the Rise of Idolatry from these Words, think the Word הוהל *Hochal* not to signify *They began*, but *They profaned*: They make the Sentence run thus, *Then they profaned in calling upon the Name of the Lord.* The Verb חל does indeed sometimes signify *to prophane*, and sometimes *to begin*; but then it ought to be

be observed, that when it signifies to profane, it has always a Noun following it; when an Infinitive Mood follows, as in the Passage before us, it always signifies to begin. There are many Passages of Scripture, which will justify this Remark: *Numb. xxx. 3. Ezek. xxxix. 7.* are Instances of the former Sense; *Gen. vi. 1. xli. 53. 2 Chron. iii. 1.* and several other Places are Instances of the latter. And thus I think it may appear that both the Opinions founded on this Passage are groundless; they have both of them been espoused by great Authors; and the latter, which is the more improbable of the two, is very much favoured by the Paraphrase of *Onkelos*, by *Maimonides's* Treatise of Idolatry, by *Selden* and several other learned Men. But since I am fallen upon this Passage, I shall add a few Words more to give it its true Meaning: and I think the *Hebrew* Words verbally translated would be, Then it was began to call, i. e. Them, by the Name of the Lord, i. e. as I expressed it p. 12. They were then first called the Sons of God. This is, I must think, the true Meaning of this Expression. קרא בשם *Kara be Shem* signifies to call or nominate by or after the Name; thus *Gen. iv. 17.* יקרא *Jikra*, He called the Name of the City בשם *be Shem*, by or after the Name of his Son. *Numb. xxxii. 42.* יקרא *Jikra*, He called it *Nobah*, בשמו *be Shemo*, by or after

ter his own Name. Psalm xlix. 11. קראו
 Kareau, They call their Lands, בשמחם
 bishmotham, by or after their own Names.
 Isaiab xliii. 7. Every one that is הנקרא
 Hannikra called בשמי bishmi by my Name.
 And the Name here hinted is expressly
 given these Men by Moses himself, when
 he afterwards speaks of them, Gen. vi.
 The Sons of God saw the Daughters of
 Men ——— but to return to the Antedilu-
 vians.

As we can only form some few and
 very general Conjectures about their
 Religion, so we can only guess at the
Progress they might make in Literature
or any of the Arts. The enterprizing
 Genius of Man began to exert it self
 very early in Musick, Brass-work, Iron-
work, in every Artifice and Science use-
ful or entertaining; and the Undertakers
 were not limited by a short Life, they
 had Time enough before them to carry
 Things to Perfection; but whatever their
 Skill, Learning or Industry performed, all
 Remains or Monuments of it are long
 ago perished. We meet in several Au-
 thors Hints of some Writings of Enoch,
 and of Pillars supposed to have been in-
scribed by Seth, and the Epistle of St.
Jude (a) seems to cite a Passage from
Enoch; but the Notion of Enoch's leaving

(a) Jude Ver. 14.

any Work behind him has been so little credited, that some Persons, not considering (*a*) that there are many Things alluded to in the New Testament, that were perhaps never recorded in any Books, have gone too far, and (*b*) imagined the Epistle of St. *Jude* spurious, for its seeming to have a Quotation from this Figment.

There is a Piece pretending to be this Work of *Enoch*, and (*c*) *Scaliger*, in his Annotations upon *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*, has given us considerable Fragments, if not the Whole of it. It was vastly admired by (*d*) *Tertullian*, and some other Fathers; but it has since their time been proved to be the Product of some Impostor, who made it, according to *Scaliger*, *Vossius*, *Gale*, and *Kircher*, some time between the Captivity and our Saviour's Birth; but

(*a*) There are many Instances in the New Testament of Facts alluded to, which we do not find were ever recorded in any ancient Books: Thus the Contest between Michael and the Devil about the Body of Moses is mentioned, as if the Jews had, somewhere or other, a full Account of it. The Names of the Egyptian Magicians, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, are set down, tho' they are no where found in *Moses's* History. St. Paul mentions that Moses exceedingly quaked and feared on Mount Sinai, but we do not find it so recorded any where in the Old Testament. In all these Cases, the Apostles and Holy Writers hinted at Things commonly receiv'd as true by Tradition amongst the Jews, without transcribing them from any real Books.

(*b*) *Enochi commentitia* Tracula ita sprevit cordatio Antiquitas, uti Hieronymus Judæ Epistolam, quæ de septem Catholicis una est, ob hanc causam a plerisque a Catalogo Sacrorum Voluminum dicat expunctam, quia Testimonium ibi citatur ex hoc futili scripto. *Cunæus* de rep. Heb. l. 2. c. 1. p. 268. (*c*) P. 404.

(*d*) De habitu mulierum, c. 3.

there are, I think, (a) good Reasons not to believe it even so Old.

As to *Seth's* Pillars, (b) *Josephus* gives the following account of them: " That
 " *Seth* and his Descendants were Persons
 " of happy Tempers, and lived in Peace,
 " employing themselves in the Study of
 " Astronomy, and in other Searches after
 " useful Knowledge; that, in order to pre-
 " serve the Knowledge they had acquired,
 " and to convey it to Posterity, having
 " heard from *Adam* of the Flood, and of
 " a Destruction of the World by Fire
 " which was to follow it, they made two
 " Pillars, the one of Stone, the other of
 " Brick, and inscribed their Knowledge
 " upon them, supposing that one or the
 " other of them might remain for the use
 " of Posterity: The Stone Pillar, says he,
 " on which is inscribed, that there was one
 " of Brick made also, is still remaining in
 " the Land of *Seriad* to this day." Thus
 far *Josephus*: But whether his Account of
 this Pillar may be admitted, has been va-
 riously controverted; we are now not on-
 ly at a loss about the Pillar, but we can-
 not so much as find the Place where 'tis
 said to have stood. (c) Some have thought
 this Land of *Seriad* to be the Land of *Sei-*

(a) See Jurieu Crit. Hist. Vol. 1. p. 41. (b) Antiq. lib. 1.
 c. 2. p. 9. (c) Vossius de Ætat. Mund. c. 10. & Marsham
 Can. Chronic. p. 39.

rah, mentioned *Judges* iii. 26. and that the Quarries, as we render it, or the [*Pesilim*] as 'tis in the *Hebrew*, might be the ruinous Stones of which this Pillar of *Seth* was formerly made: (a) Other Writers think the word [*Pesilim*] to signify Idols, and that the Stones here mentioned were *Eglon's* Idols, lately set up there. (b) Bishop *Stillingfleet*, if the word [*Pesilim*] can signify Pillars, approves of *Junius's* Interpretation of the Place, and thinks the Stones here spoken of were the twelve Stones pitched by *Joshua* in *Gilgal*, after the Children of *Israel* passed over *Jordan*; but surely this Interpretation is improbable, the Stones pitched in *Gilgal* by *Joshua* would have been called as they were when they were pitched, [*ha Abenim*] from [*Aben*] a Stone, or else the Remembrance of the Fact to be supported by them would be lost: The Design of heaping them was, that when Posterity should enquire what mean [*ha Abenim*] these Stones, they might be told how the Waters of *Jordan* were cut off. 'Tis unlikely that the Writer of the Book of *Judges* should alter the Name of so remarkable a Monument.

But it is more easy to guess where *Josaphus* had his Story of *Seth's* Pillars, than to tell in what Country they ever stood;

(a) Chytraeus & alii. (b) Origines sacrae B. 1. c. 2. p. 37.

there is a Passage quoted from *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* Historian, which very probably was the Foundation of all that *Josephus* has said about them. *Eusebius* (a) has given us the words of *Manetho*; for, relating what he asserted to establish the Credit of his *Egyptian Dynasties*, he says, that he pretended to have taken them

“ from some Pillars in the Land of *Seriad*,
 “ inscribed in the sacred Dialect by the
 “ first *Mercury Thyoth*, and after the Flood
 “ translated out of the sacred Dialect into
 “ the *Greek* Tongue in sacred Characters,
 “ and laid up amongst the Revestrys of the
 “ *Egyptian* Temples by *Agathodæmon* the
 “ second *Mercury*, Father of *Tat*.” *Josephus* very often quotes Heathen Writers, and *Manetho* in particular; and it is probable, that upon reading this account of Pillars in that Historian, he might think it misapplied. The *Jews* had an old Tradition of *Seth's* Pillars, *Josephus* perhaps imagined *Manetho's* Account to have arisen from it, and that he should probably hit the Truth if he put the History of the one and the Tradition of the other together; and 'tis likely hence arose all he has given us upon this Subject.

It may perhaps be inquired, what the Wickedness was, for which God destroyed this first World: Some Writers have

(a) In *Chronico*,

imagined it to have been an excess of Idolatry, others think Idolatry was not practised 'till after the Flood; and indeed the Scripture mentions no Idolatry in these times, but describes the Antediluvian Wickedness to have been a general Neglect of Virtue, and Pursuit of Evil. (a) *The Wickedness of Man was great in the Earth, and every Imagination of the Thoughts of his Heart was only Evil continually.* There is one Particular taken notice of by Moses, (b) *The Earth* (he says) *was filled with Violence.* This Expression, and the severe Law made against Murder soon after the Flood, makes it probable that the Men of this first World had taken a great Licence in usurping upon the Lives of one another.

There should be something said, before I conclude this Book, of the Chronology and Geography of this first World. As to the Chronology, several of the Transactions in it are not reduced to any fix'd time: We are not told when *Cain* and *Abel* were born; in what year *Abel* was kill'd, or *Cain* left his Parents; when the City of *Enoch* was built; or at what particular time the Descendants of *Cain's* Family were born: *Moses* has given us a Chronology of only one Branch of *Seth's* Family. He has set down the several Descendants from *Adam* to *Noah*, with an

(a) Gen. vi. 5.

(b) Ver. 13.

Account of the time of their Birth, and term of Life; so that if there was not a Variety in the different Copies of the Bible, it would be easy to fix the year of their Deaths, and of the Flood, and to determine the time of the Continuance of this first World.

But *first* of all, according to our *Hebrew* Bibles, the Computations of *Moses* are given us as set down in the following Table.

	Began his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life	Lived after his Son's Birth, Years	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World.
<i>Adam</i> ———	1	130	800	930	930
<i>Seth</i> ———	130	105	807	912	1042
<i>Enos</i> ———	235	90	815	905	1140
<i>Cainan</i> ———	325	70	840	910	1235
<i>Mabalaleel</i> —	395	65	830	895	1290
<i>Jared</i> —	460	162	800	962	1422
<i>Enoch</i> —	622	65	300	365	987
<i>Methuselab</i> -	687	187	782	969	1656
<i>Lamech</i> —	874	182	595	777	1651
<i>Noah</i> —	1056	500	—	—	—

According to the foregoing Table, the Flood, which began in the six hundredth Year of *Noah*, who was born *Anno Mundi* 1056, happened *Anno Mundi* 1656, it continued about a Year, and so ended 1657.

But *secondly*, The *Samaritan* Copies give us these Comptations something different; according to them,

	Began his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life	Lived after his Son's Birth, Years	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World
<i>Adam</i> ———	1	130	800	930	930
<i>Seth</i> ———	130	105	807	912	1042
<i>Enos</i> ———	235	90	815	905	1140
<i>Cainan</i> ———	325	70	840	910	1235
<i>Mabalaleel</i> --	395	65	830	895	1290
<i>Jared</i> ———	460	62	785	847	1307
<i>Enoch</i> ———	522	65	300	265	887
<i>Methuselah</i> --	587	† 67	653	720	1307
<i>Lamech</i> ———	654	† 53	600	653	1307
<i>Noah</i> ———	707	500	—	—	—

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~~187~~ 182

The Reader will easily see the difference between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Computations, by comparing the two Tables with one another. (a) Capellus makes a difficulty in reconciling them, but it is not such a hard matter, if we consider what (b) St. *Jerom* informs us of, that there were *Samaritan* Copies which make *Methuselah* 187 Years old at the Birth of Lamech, and *Lamech* 182 at the Birth of *Noah*: Now if this be true, it is easy to suppose 62, the Age of *Jared* at the Birth of *Enoch*, to be a Mistake of the Transcriber, who might drop a Letter, and write 62 instead of 162, and thus all the difference between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Copies will entirely vanish. *Capellus* is not satisfied with this Account of St. *Jerom*'s, but observes that (c) Morinus assures us, that the *Samaritan* MS Pentateuch agrees exactly with the Calculations given by *Eusebius*, according to which the foregoing Table is composed; but to this it may be answer'd, that the (d) MS which *Morinus* saw, is not older than the Beginning of the 15th Century; it was, he says himself, written in the Year of our Lord 1404; and surely it must be very precarious to contradict

+ French
informed
17th cent
Prof: Div:
Sammur

French P
Div: 17th C

(a) Tract. de Chronol. sacr. in Prolegom. Bib. Polyglor. Walton. (b) In Quæst. in Genes. (c) Joan. Morinus in Præfat. Græco-Lat. Translationis LXX. Parisiis edit. 1618. (d) See Harduin's Chronol. Vet. Test. p. 6.

what St. *Jerom* has asserted in this Matter, from so modern a Transcript.

The Writers who have given us the *Samaritan* Chronology, do, in some respects, differ from the foregoing Table; but their Differences are of less Moment, and may easily be corrected.

1. (a) *Eusebius* sets the Birth of *Methuselah* in the 60th Year of *Enoch*; but this is manifestly an Error either of the Printer or Transcriber, who wrote ξ in- stead of ξε; the Mistake was certainly not *Eusebius*'s, because he immediately adds, μετετέθη ἐν ἑταίρῳ τῷ Νωῆ, i. e. he was translated in the 180th Year of *Noah*. Now if *Enoch* was 60 Years old at *Methuselah*'s Birth, according to *Eusebius* himself, from *Methuselah*'s Birth to the 180th Year of *Noah* is but 300 Years, and consequently *Eusebius*, to have been consistent with himself, should have made *Enoch*'s Age at his Translation 360, but he has made it 365. But farther, (b) *Syncellus* from *Eusebius* says, that the *Samaritan* Computation falls short of the *Hebrew* 349 Years; but, if in the Life of *Enoch* 60 and 360 are the true Numbers, instead of 65 and 365, the Reader, if he computes, will find that the *Samaritan* Calculations fall short of the *Hebrew* more than 349 Years, namely 354. Once more, the *Samaritan* Com-

(a) *Chronicon*, p. 4. (b) *Vid. Capelli Chronol. sacr.*

putations, as cited by (a) *Scaliger*, have in this Place 65 not 60, and 165 not 160.

There are several other Mistakes made probably in printing *Eusebius's Chronicon*; (b) namely, that *Cainan* lived to the $\phi\kappa\alpha$, i. e. the 521st Year of *Noah*, it should have been $\phi\kappa\eta$, 528. And *Mabalaleel* to the $\phi\pi\epsilon$, i. e. the 585th Year of *Noah*, it should have been $\phi\pi\gamma$, i. e. 583, for otherwise *Eusebius* contradicts himself; for if a Table were made from *Eusebius's* Computations, it would appear that *Cainan* died *A. M.* 1235, and that would be the 528th Year of *Noah*, not the 521st; and so likewise *Mabalaleel's* Death would be *A. M.* 1290, which according to *Eusebius*, would be the 583d Year of *Noah*, not the 585th.

2. The *Samaritan Chronology*, as given us by (c) *Scaliger*, differs a little from *Eusebius's* Account of it; for where *Eusebius* says that *Mabalaleel* was $\xi\epsilon$, i. e. 65 Years old when he begat *Jared*; *Scaliger* thinks it should be $\sigma\epsilon$, i. e. 75. Again, where *Eusebius* makes *Methuselah's* Age $\xi\zeta$, i. e. 67 at *Lamech's* Birth, *Scaliger* would have it be $\sigma\zeta$, i. e. 77. By these Alterations he computes 20 Years longer to the Flood than the receiv'd *Samaritan Copies*. *Scaliger* does indeed (d) produce an old *Samaritan Chronicle*, with a Ta-

(a) *Id. ibid.* (b) *Id. ibid.* (c) *Id. Ibid.* (d) *See Capellus before cited.*

ble at the end of it of the Lives of the Patriarchs, who lived from the Creation to *Moses*, in which he finds the Variations from *Eusebius*, which he would establish: But, *first*, He himself owns that this Table contains some very great Absurdities; a Confession which takes away a great deal of its Credit. 2. The *Samaritan* Chronology is much more reconcileable to the *Hebrew*, as *Eusebius* has given it us, than it would be if these Alterations of *Scaliger's* were made in it. 3. The *Samaritan* MS agrees with *Eusebius*, but favours none of *Scaliger's* Emendations, as is clear from *Morinus's* Account of that MS, and was confirmed to *Capellus*, by some Letters of *Golius* to him. 4. If we alter *Eusebius* by this Table of *Scaliger's*, we shall make *Jared* and *Methuselah* die *A. M.* 1317, *i. e.* 10 Years before the Flood; but all Versions agree, the *Hebrew*, the *Samaritan*, and the *Septuagint*, however they differ about the Year of the Flood, that *Methuselah* certainly died that Year.

Thirdly, We come now to the Chronology of the *Septuagint*, which differs from the *Hebrew* in the following manner.

1. In the Lives of *Adam*, *Seth*, *Enos*, *Cainan*, *Mabalaleel*, there are 100 Years added before the Births of their respective Children, which 100 Years are again subtracted from the Time they lived after the Births of them, so that the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint*

Septuagint make the whole term of their Lives exactly the same, only the *Septuagint* makes them Fathers 100 Years later than the *Hebrew*.

2. In the Life of *Lamech* the *Septuagint* adds 6 Years before *Noah's* Birth, and takes away 30 Years from the time he lived after *Noah* was born, and in the whole makes his Life shorter than the *Hebrew* by 24 Years.

These Differences, by advancing 600 Years before the Births of *Seth*, *Enos*, *Cainan*, *Mahalaleel*, *Jared* and *Methuselah*, and 6 Years before the Birth of *Noah*, (both the *Septuagint* and *Hebrew* agreeing the Flood to be in the six hundredth Year of *Noah's* Life) do carry forward the time of the Flood 606 Years, and so fix it *A. M.* 2263, instead of 1657, according to the following Table.

According to the <i>Septuagint.</i>	Began his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life	Lived after his Son's Birth, Years	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World
<i>Adam</i> -----	1	230	700	930	930
<i>Seth</i> -----	230	205	707	912	1042
<i>Enos</i> -----	435	190	715	905	1340
<i>Gainan</i> -----	625	170	740	910	1535
<i>Mabalaleel</i> --	795	165	730	895	1690
<i>Jared</i> -----	960	162	800	962	1922
<i>Enoch</i> -----	1122	165	200	365	1487
<i>Methuselah</i> --	1287	187	782	969	2256
<i>Lamech</i> -----	1474	188	565	753	2227
<i>Noah</i> -----	1662	500			

How the different Computations of the *Septuagint* and the *Hebrew* may be reconciled, or accounted for, is a Point which the Learned are not agreed in. The *Hebrew* Computations are supported by a perfect Concurrence and Agreement of all *Hebrew* Copies now in Being; we are sure there have been no various Readings in

in these Places since (a) the *Talmuds* were composed: nay, the approved *Hebrew* Copies computed thus in our Saviour's time; for the Paraphrase of *Onkelos*, which is on all Hands agreed to be about that Age, is the same exactly with the *Hebrew* in these Points. *St. Jerom*, in his time, took the *Hebrew* Computations to be right, for he translated from them exactly agreeable to what we now read them: And the vulgar *Latin*, which has been in use in the Church above 1000 Years, agrees to them; there is no positive Proof that there ever was an *Hebrew* Copy different from what the common *Hebrew* now is, in these Computations.

But then, on the other hand, there are several Arguments which have induced learned Men to suspect, that the ancient *Hebrew* Copies might differ from the present; and that the *Greek* Computations, according to the *Septuagint*, are more likely to be true than the present *Hebrew*; for,

I. As all the *Hebrew* Copies agree in their Computations, so do the *Greek* Copies agree in theirs likewise: The most ancient MSS have exactly the same Computations with the common *Septuagint*, ex-

(a) The Talmuds were two, the Jerusalem and the Babylonian; the Jerusalem Talmud was composed about 300 Years after Christ, the Babylonian about 200 Years later.

Made of Mishna
cept Gemara

mishna - repetition - Gemara - paraphrase

cept a small Variation or two, which shall be, by and by, accounted for. And, tho' indeed we ought not to oppose even the best Translation to the Original, yet what I have mentioned gives us reason at least to enquire impartially, how, and when such a Difference began between the Original and the Version; a Difference which is not a Mistake in this or that Copy or Transcript, but a Difference probably made at first by the Translators themselves.

2. These Variations are of such a Sort, that they cannot be imagined to be made accidentally by the Translators, out of Haste, or by Mistake; the *Hebrew Computations*, as St. *Jerom* observes, were not expressed in Words in the old Copies, but in small Characters scarcely visible: Had the *Septuagint* fallen short in the Numbers, we might have supposed that they omitted some Letter, and so lost 10 or 100 Years; but such Alterations as these are, where there must have been Letters added, and where sometimes both Parts of a Verse, and sometimes two Verses together are altered, and so altered as still to keep them consistent with one another; this, whenever done, must be done designedly, and with Deliberation.

3. Tho' we have no direct Proof of any Variations in the old *Hebrew Copies* in these Computations, yet we have some ground to suspect there were some. The

Jews,

Jews, before the Time of *Antiochus*, had a long Enjoyment of Peace, and were very (a) careles about the Sacred Writings, so that numerous Variations had, by degrees, got into their Copies. *Antiochus* seized and burnt all the Copies he could come at; there were only a few of those that were in private Hands that escaped him. After this Calamity was over, the *Jews* enquired, and got together those few, in order to have more Copies wrote out from them; and from these came all the Copies we have now in use. Now suppose the private Copies, that escaped the Fury of *Antiochus*, had any of them dropped some numeral Letters, and they were copied, as I said, in an Age when they did not study to be very accurate; this might be the Occasion of the present *Hebrew* falling short in its Calculations; the *Septuagint* being translated from the Copies before *Antiochus's* time, when the Computations were not corrupted. The *Pharisees* were the rising Sect after *Antiochus's* Persecution, and they were the Correctors of the new Transcripts, and 'tis not likely their Pride and Stiffness should let them consult the *Septuagint*, or alter any thing in their Copies by it; 'tis more probable, that if they found any Point in their MS differing from the *Septuagint*, they should be fond of pre-

(a) Buxtorf.

erving the Reading of their own Originals, in opposition to a foreign Translation of their Books, how good in its Kind soever it might be.

4. *Josephus* is some Proof, that there were formerly old *Hebrew* Copies different in these Computations from the present ones. He expressly (*a*) says, that he wrote his History from the Sacred Pages; and his (*b*) Account of the Lives of these Patriarchs agrees with the *Septuagint*, except only in a very small Difference in the Life of *Lamech*; so that *Josephus* must have seen a Copy of the *Hebrew* Books, different from the present ones, and at least very near agreeing with the *Septuagint*.

5. The *Greek* Historians who wrote before *Josephus*, namely, (*c*) *Demetrius Phalereus*, *Philo* the Elder, and *Eupolemus*, give us reason to suspect the same thing. They are Writers very much commended by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*. They learn'd their Knowledge of the *Jewish* Affairs, from *Jews*; and *Josephus* says, they wrote accurately about them. Now their Computations differ very much from the common *Hebrew*, and come very near the *Septuagint*. Ac-

(*a*) *Contra Appion. Lib. 1.* (*b*) *See it, Antiq. Lib. 1. c. 3.*
 (*c*) *Walton. Proleg. de versionibus Græcis.*

according to (a) *Demetrius*, from the Creation to the Flood is 2148 Years. (b) *Eusebius*, from *Alexander* (a very ancient Historian) computes from the Creation to the Flood 2284 Years. These Authors must have seen, or been informed from *Hebrew* Copies different from the present.

6. We may add to all this, That the whole Christian Church, Eastern and Western, and all the ancient celebrated Writers of the Church, have neglected the *Hebrew* Computations, and adhered to the *Greek*; 'till in the last Century some of the *Roman* Writers, and not all of them, in regard to the Decree of the Council of *Trent* about the vulgar *Latin*, took to the *Hebrew* Computations; not because they were the *Hebrew*, but because the vulgar *Latin* agreed with them. (c) *Baronius* observes, that the Church used anciently to compute the Years from the Creation, not according to the *Hebrew*, but according to the *Septuagint*, and he cites many Writers to confirm it; and indeed he might justly have cited every ancient Writer, except *St. Jerom* and *St. Austin*. Amongst the Moderns, *Beza* was the first that had any Doubts about the

(a) Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 1. p. 403. Ed. Fxon.

(b) See Walton. Proleg. de versionibus Græcis, § 61.

Apparatu, n. 118.

(c) In

Greek Chronology; I say, had Doubts, for he never absolutely rejected it, tho' he seemed most inclined to the *Hebrew*. There have been a few that have followed his Opinion, but they are but a few, in comparison of the many that have gone the other way.

I have now given the Substance of what is offered for the *Hebrew*, and for the *Septuagint*. I should next observe, that (a) *Capellus* attempts to reconcile the Differences in their Computations, in the following manner:

1. As to the Difference between the *Greek* and *Hebrew*, in the Life of *Lamech*, he quotes (b) *St. Austin*, who was of opinion, that the very first Transcribers, who took Copies of the original *Septuagint* MS in *Ptolemy's* Library, made Mistakes in transcribing it; that the *Septuagint* computed *Lamech* to be 182 Years old at *Noah's* Birth, to live 595 after it, and to live in all 777 Years. This one Correction will take away all the Difference between the *Septuagint* and the *Hebrew*, except the 600 Years added and subtracted, as before mentioned: And it will (agreeably to all other Copies) make *Metbuselah* die in the Year of the Flood.

(a) Lud. Capelli Chron. Sacr. in Apparatu Walton. ad Bibl. Polyglot. (b) Aug. de Civitate Dei, cap. 13.

2. As to the Addition and Substraction of the several hundred Years, in the Lives of the Fathers before mentioned, the same Author, from (*a*) *St. Austin*, answers, That they were not made by the *Seventy* themselves, but by some early Transcriber from them, and probably for one or other of these two Reasons: 1. Perhaps thinking the Years of the Antediluvian Lives to be but Lunar ones, and computing that at this Rate the Six Fathers, whose Lives are thus altered, must have had their Children at 5, 6, 7, or 8 Years old, which could not but look incredible; I say, the Transcriber finding this, might be induced to add and subtract the 100 Years, in order to make them of a more probable Age of Manhood, at the Birth of their respective Children: or, 2. If he thought the Years of their Lives to be Solar ones, yet still he might imagine, that Infancy and Childhood were (*b*) proportionably longer in Men, that were to live 7, 8, or 900 Years, than they are in us, and that it was too early in their Lives, for them to be Fathers at 60, 70, or 90 Years of Age; for which Reason he might add the hundred Years, to make their Advance to Manhood, which is commonly not 'till one

(*a*) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 15. c. 12. (*b*) Tanto serior fuit proportione pubertas, quanto vitæ totius major Annositas, says *St. August.* lib. de Civitat. Dei, 15. c. 15.

fourth Part of Life is near over, proportionable to what was to be their Term of Life.

If these Arguments are sufficient to answer in Part what is said in favour of the *Septuagint*, in opposition to the *Hebrew*, (and they seem to me to carry a great Probability) what is offered from *Josephus*, *Philo*, *Demetrius Phalereus*, and the other *Greek* Historians agreeing in their Computations with the *Septuagint*, is easily answered. They all lived since the Time that the *Septuagint* Translation was made, and very probably took their Computations from that, or some Copies of it, and not from any *Hebrew* Copies of the Scriptures.

(a) *Demetrius Phalereus* was the first President of the College of *Alexandria*, to which the Library belong'd where the Original MS of the *Septuagint* was lodged. He was a very active Man in the erecting the Library, and storing it with Books; for all that *Ptolemy Soter* did in this matter, was by his Counsel and Direction, and the whole Care and Management of it was committed to him. And when *Ptolemy Soter* died, his Son *Ptolemy Philadelphus* carrying on the same Design, made use of *Demetrius*, as his Father had before done. *Ptolemy Philadel-*

(a) See Prideaux Connect. Vol. 2. p. 18.

phus, says *Aristeas*, being desirous to raise a considerable Library at *Alexandria*, committed the Care of this Matter to *Demetrius Phalereus*, a noble *Athenian* then living in his Court, directing him to procure from all Nations, whatsoever Books were of Note amongst them: Pursuant to these Orders, being informed of the Book of the Law of *Moses* among the *Jews*, he put the King upon sending to *Jerusalem* for a Copy of it. (a) *Aristobulus*, an *Alexandrian Jew*, makes the same mention of *Demetrius's* Part in this Affair. We have now only some Fragments of *Aristobulus*, quoted by (b) *Clemens Alexandrinus* and (c) *Eusebius*; but he is said to have written a Comment on the Five Books of *Moses*, and therein to have mentioned this *Greek* Version, as made under the Care and Direction of *Demetrius Phalereus*. (d) The most learned *Dr. Prideaux* does indeed imagine, that *Demetrius* was put to Death in the beginning of the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, but he brings but very slender Proof of it: It is more likely that he lived 'till after the Library was finished; and if he took this Care about getting the Translation of the Books of

(a) In his Comment on the Books of *Moses*; see *Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 13. c. 12.* (b) *Strom. l. 1. & l. 5.* (c) *Can. Chron. p. 187. Præp. Evang. lib. 7. c. 13. lib. 8. c. 10. lib. 13. c. 12.* (d) *Connection, Vol. 2. p. 20.*

Moses, 'tis likely, when he had them, his Curiosity might lead him to look into them. He was a great Scholar, as well as a Statesman and Politician; and if the Computations abovementioned were altered so early as *St. Austin* imagines, and upon the Reasons he gives for it, the Alterations might be made by *Demetrius*, or by his Allowance and Approbation.

I have said all this about *Demetrius*, upon supposition that he was one of the *Greek* Historians whose Works might prove the *Septuagint* Computation more probable than the *Hebrew*. (a) *Bishop Walton* does indeed quote him for that Purpose, but I doubt he was mistaken. The *Phalerean Demetrius* lived a busy, active Life, a great Officer of State both at home and abroad, and I do not find he ever wrote any History. *Bishop Walton* therefore might perhaps mistake the Name, not *Demetrius Phalereus*, but *Demetrius* the Historian should have been quoted upon this Occasion. (b) *Demetrius* the Historian was an Inhabitant of *Alexandria*, lived not before the Reign of *Ptolemy Philopator*, the Grandson of *Philadelphus*, near 70 Years after the *Septuagint*

(a) In Prolegom. ad Bibl. Polyglot. 9. § 61. (b) *Clem. Alexand. Strom.* lib. 1. *Hieronymus* in *Catalogo illustrium Scriptorum* c. 38. *Vossius de Historicis Græcis* lib. 3. sub litera D. He might possibly live some time later than *Ptolemy Philopator*, for the exact Time of his Life is not told us.

Translation was made; he compiled the History of the *Jews*, and continued it down to the Reign of *Ptolemy Philopator* beforementioned. 'Tis easy to see that this Writer might copy from the *Septuagint*, and be mis-led by any early Alterations that had been made in it.

Philo lived still later, was Cotemporary with our Saviour; wrote almost 300 Years after the *Hebrew* was translated by the *Seventy*. He lived constantly at *Alexandria*, and therefore copied from the *Septuagint*; and as he lived so late, was more likely to be imposed upon by the early Alterations that had been made in it.

Josephus, tho' a *Jew*, notwithstanding he so often asserted that he wrote from the Sacred Pages, did not always write from the *Hebrew* Scriptures. He was, I own, a Priest, and of the first Family of the Priests, brought up from his Childhood in the *Hebrew* Law, and perfectly skilled in the *Hebrew* Language; and I do not question, but that he could as easily make use of the *Hebrew* Bible as the *Greek*; but still I think it is very evident, that in several Parts of his Works, where he ought to have used at least one of them, he has used neither. The utmost that Dr. *Hody* (a) could conclude about him was, that he principally followed the

(a) Hody. Dissert. de Septuagint. l. 3. c. 1. § 2.

Hebrew Text, which, if admitted, is consistent with what *Dr. Cave* observed of him, (a) that he often takes a middle way between the *Septuagint* and the *Hebrew*. But *Dr. Wills* has examined his Chronology with great Exactness, (b) and produces several Passages, in which he adheres to the *Hebrew* against the *Greek*; and several others, in which he agrees with the *Greek* in opposition to the *Hebrew*; and as many in which he differs from both. From which he very reasonably concludes, that in compiling his History, he had both the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Bibles before him, and sometimes used one, and sometimes the other; and when he thought there was Reason, he did not scruple to recede from both. The *Jews* had other ancient Books to which they paid great Deference, besides the Scriptures. *Josephus* copied often from these, and from Heathen Writers too; and he was not only many times led away by them from what is contained in the Scriptures; but oftentimes mis-led by them into Trifles and Mistakes. *Josephus* is not of sufficient Authority to induce us to alter our Bible.

And as to the Fathers of the first Ages of the Church, they were good Men, but

(a) *Histor. Litterar. P. II. in Joseph.* (b) *Dissertation upon the Chronology of Josephus, p. 16—21.*

not Men of an universal Learning; they understood the *Greek* Tongue better than the *Hebrew*; used and wrote from the *Septuagint* Copies, and that was the Reason why the *Septuagint* Computations prevailed amongst them (a). And thus I have put the whole of what may be said upon this Subject together, into as narrow a Compass as I could well bring it. The Reader may see the former Part of what I have offer'd, treated more at large in *Capellus's Sacra Chronologia*, prefix'd to *Walton's Polyglott Bible*, and in Bishop *Walton's Prolegomenon* upon the *Septuagint* and *Greek* Versions of the Scriptures; and if the latter Part may be allowed, the Differences between the *Septuagint* and *Hebrew*, as far as we have yet entered into them, have but little in them; they appear considerable only, from the Weight which the Learned have given them in their Dissertations upon them; but they may, by the Suppositions abovementioned, be very easily reconciled.

There is one thing more that should not be wholly omitted, and this is, a Variation or two in the several *Greek* Copies from one another.

(a) *St. Jerom and St. Austin* (as was before hinted) adhered to the *Hebrew* Computations; and they were, tho' not the only two that understood the *Hebrew*, yet without doubt much better skilled in it than the Fathers of their Age, except *Origen*.

We have in our Table of the *Septuagint* Computations supposed *Methuselah* to be 187 Years old at *Lamech's* Birth, to live 782 Years after it, and to live in all 969 Years; but (a) *Eusebius*, St. *Jerom*, and St. *Austin* assert, that according to the *Septuagint* he begat *Lamech* in the 167th Year of his Age, lived after his Birth 802 Years, and lived in all 969 Years. The *Roman* Edition of the *Septuagint*, printed in *Greek* and *Latin* at *Paris*, in the Year 1628, agrees with them in these Computations. But in answer to them: 1. St. *Austin* himself confesses, that there were various Readings in the Computations of *Methuselah's* Life; that some Copies (three *Greek*, one *Latin*, and one *Syriac*) made *Methuselah* die six Years before the Flood. Now these Copies must have had 187, and 782, as in our Table, for then they will exactly do it. Nay, 2. As *Eusebius* allows that some Copies supposed *Methuselah* to die six Years before the Flood, so he also expressly computes him to live 782 Years after the Birth of *Lamech*; now these Copies must make him 187 at the Birth of *Lamech*, for there has been no Doubt of his living in all, according to the *Septuagint*, 969 Years. 3. *Africanus*, cited by *Eusebius*, says from the *Septuagint*, that *Lamech* was born in the

(a) Capelli Chronol. sacra.

187th Year of *Methuselah*. 4. If the Computations abovementioned be admitted, *Methuselah* must live 14 or 15 Years after the Flood, which is too great an Absurdity to be admitted. The two or three Copies mentioned by *Eusebius* have probably the ancient Reading of the *Septuagint*, and *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* should have corrected the Exemplars, which they computed from, by them, as most of the modern Editors have done. For all the later Editions of the *Septuagint* agree with our Table, namely, the *Basil* Edition of *Hervagius*, publish'd *Anno Dom.* 1545: *Wichelius's*, publish'd *Anno Dom.* 1595, makes no various Reading upon the Place, as if all Books were the same with it, or those that were not, were not worth confuting: The Royal Edition by *Plantin* is the same, with this only Fault, that $\omega\acute{\epsilon}\nu\lambda\epsilon$ is put instead of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\lambda\alpha$, 185 instead of 187; but that Mistake is corrected in the *Paris Greek* and *Latin*, made from it *Anno Domini* 1628.

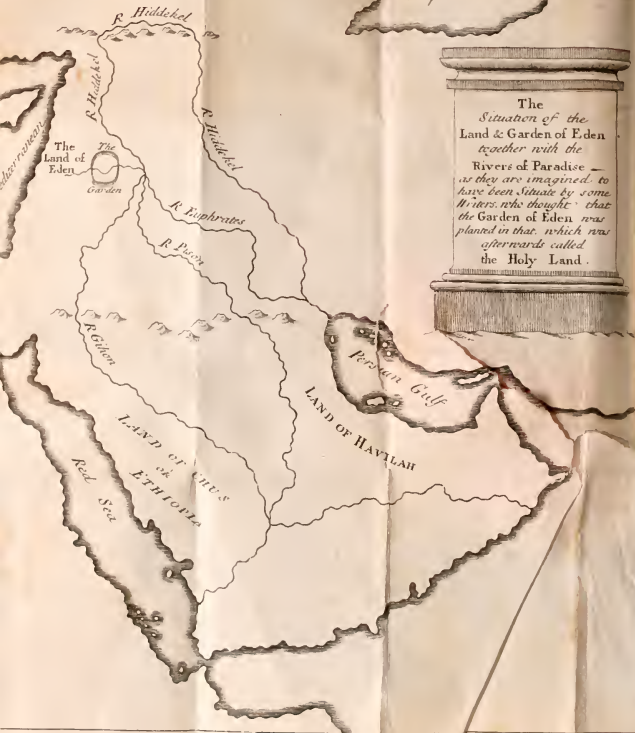
There is one Reading more, in which *Eusebius* seems to differ from us. He makes *Lamech* to live $\phi\lambda\epsilon$, i. e. 535 Years after *Noah's* Birth; we say he lived 565. But 'tis probable this Mistake was either *Scaliger's*, or some Transcriber's, and not *Eusebius's*; $\phi\lambda\epsilon$ might easily be writ for $\phi\xi\epsilon$: For, 1. *St. Jerom*, who translated *Eusebius* into *Latin*, wrote it DLXV.

2. All the modern Editions of the *Septuagint* put it 565. 3. St. *Austin* says expressly, that the *Hebrew* Computations in this Place are 30 Years more than the *Greek*; now the *Hebrew* makes *Lamech* to live 595 Years after *Noah's* Birth, therefore the *Greek* Computation being 30 Years less, must be 565. 4. All Copies of the *Septuagint* agree, that he was 188 at *Noah's* Birth, and that he lived in all 753 Years; now from hence 'tis certain, that they must suppose him to live 565 Years after the Birth of *Noah*, for 188 and 565 is 753.

We are now come to the last Point to be treated of, the Geography of the Antediluvian World. There are but few Places of it mentioned; the Land of *Eden*, with its Garden; the Land of *Nod* on the East of *Eden*; and the City of *Enoch* in that Country.

The Land and Garden of *Eden* was in the Eastern Parts of the World, remarkable for a River which arose out of it, dividing itself into four Streams or Branches; the first of which was named *Pison*, and encompassed the whole Land of *Havilah*; the second was named *Gihon*, and encompassed the Land of *Cush*; the third was *Hiddekel*, and ran into the Eastern Parts of *Assyria*; the fourth was the noted River *Euphrates*. This is the Description of the Place, given us by *Moses*. The Learned
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The
*Situation of the
 Land & Garden of Eden
 together with the
 Rivers of Paradise* —
*as they are imagined, to
 have been situate by some
 Writers, who thought that
 the Garden of Eden was
 planted in that, which was
 afterwards called
 the Holy Land.*

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ed have formed different Schemes of the Situation of it, from this Description of it; two of which are worth our Notice.

First, Some suppose the Land to be near *Cæle-Syria*; they imagine the River arose somewhere between the Mountains *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*, and from thence to run to the Place where *Euphrates* now divides *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, and there to divide it self, 1. into a Stream, which we now make part of the *Euphrates*; that this Stream passed thro' the Ridge of Mountains that run cross the Country, and beyond them joined it self to the present *Tigris*, and continued its Course where the *Tigris* now runs into the *Sinus Persicus*; all this Stream they call *Hiddekel*. 2. Their second River, which they call *Euphrates*, is the present *Euphrates*, from the Place where we divided *Tigris* from it, down to the *Persian Gulf*; much about the same Place, they suppose the River to divide into two other Streams, which ran thro' the Land of the *Ishmaelites*, and divided the Range of Hills at the Entrance of *Arabia Felix*, and so encompassed between their Streams a Part of that Country, and then met again; but afterwards divided, and ran, the one into the *Indian*, the other into the *Red Sea*. The Name of one of these Streams was *Gibon*, of the other *Pison*; the Draught which I have

have added will set this Scheme in the clearest View.

The Authors of the Second Scheme, tho' they have, every one of them, some Peculiarities, yet agree in the main, that *Eden* was in *Chaldæa*, that the Garden was somewhere near the Rivers amongst which *Babylon* was afterwards built: They prove the Land of *Havilah*, by undeniable Arguments, to be the Country adjacent to the present *Euphrates*, all along and upon the Banks of that River, and spreading thence towards the Desarts of *Arabia*. The Land of *Cush*, which our *English* Translation erroneously renders *Ethiopia*, was, they say, that Part of *Chaldæa* where *Cush* the Son of *Ham* settled after the Flood. A Draught of this Scheme will set it in a clearer Light, than any verbal Description, I have therefore given a Map of it, and shall only add a Reflexion or two on both the Schemes, of the Geography of this first World.

As to the former Scheme, 'tis indeed true, there was a Place in *Syria* called *Eden* (a), but it was of much later Date than the *Eden* where *Adam* was placed. *Syria* is not East to the Place where *Moses* wrote, but (b) rather North. And further, none of the Descriptions, which *Moses* has given

(a) See Amos i. 5. (b) *Moses* wrote, either when he lived in Egypt, or in the Land of Midian.

The Black or Euxin Sea



Cyprus

Mediterranean
Sea

Red
Sea

ME S O P O T A M I A

R E U P H R A T E S

R P E R S I A

The Black or Euxin Sea



*A Draught
of the Parts of
ASIA
in which the
Garden of Eden
was Situate
in the
Ante-diluvian
World.*

of *Eden*, do belong to any Part of *Syria*. There are no Rivers in the World, that run in any Degree agreeable to this Fancy; and tho' the Authors of it answer, that the Earth and Course of Rivers were altered by the Flood, yet I cannot admit that Answer for a good one. *Moses* did not describe the Situation of this Place in Antediluvian Names; the Names of the Rivers, and the Lands about them, *Cush*, *Havilah*, &c. are all Names of later Date than the Flood; and I can't but think that *Moses* intended (according to the known Geography of the World when he wrote, and according to his own Notion of it) to give us Hints of the Place near which *Eden* in the former World, and the Garden of *Paradise*, were seated.

As to the Second Scheme, it seems to come a great deal nearer the Truth than the other; there are but small Objections to be made against it. There is indeed no Draught of the Country which shews the Rivers exactly to answer *Moses's* Description of them; but how easy is it to suppose, either that the Rivers about *Babylon* have been at several times so much altered, by Streams and Canals made by the Heads of that potent Empire, that we never had a Draught of them agreeable to what they were when *Moses* wrote about them: Or, if *Moses* wrote according to the then known Geography of a Country, which
he

he had never seen, it is very certain, that all modern Observations find greater Varieties in the Situation of Places, and make greater Corrections in all old Charts and Maps, than need to be made in this Description of *Mosès*, to have it agree even with our latest Maps of the present Country and Rivers in and near *Chaldæa*.





The SACRED and PROPHANE

HISTORY

Of the WORLD Connected.

B O O K II.



NOAH, with the Remains of the Old World in the Ark, was carried upon the Waters; for about (a) five Months there was no Appearance of the Flood's abating. In the Beginning of (b) *April* the Ark touched upon the Top of Mount *Ararat*. After they had stopp'd here (c) forty Days, *Noah*, desirous to know whe-

(a) 150 Days, Gen. viii. 3. i. e. exactly five Hebrew Months, each Month consisting of 30 Days. (b) On the 17th of the 7th Month, Gen. viii. 4. i. e. of the Month Nisan, pretty near answering to the 3d of our April. (c) Gen. viii. 6.

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ther the Waters were decreasing any where else in the World, let a Bird or two (a) fly out of the Ark; but they flew about 'till weary, and finding no Place to light upon, returned back to him. (b) Seven Days after he let out a Bird again; she returned, but with a Leaf in her Mouth pluck'd from some Tree which she had found above Water. Seven (c) Days after he let the Bird fly a third time, but then she found Places enough to rest on, and so returned to him no more. The Waters continued to decrease gradually, and about (d) the middle of *June*, *Noah* look'd about him, and could see the Tops of many Hills. About the middle of (e) *September*, the whole Earth came into view; and at the (f) beginning of *November* was sufficiently drain'd; so that *Noah*, and his Family, and Creatures came out of the Ark, and took Possession of the World again. As soon as they were come ashore, *Noah* raised an Altar, and offered Sacrifices: God was pleased to accept his Piety, and promised a Blessing to him and his Posterity; granted them the Creatures of the World for their Food, and gave some

(a) Gen. viii. 7, 8. (b) Ver. 10, 11. (c) Ver. 12.

(d) In the tenth Month, on the first Day of the Month, i. e. on the first Day of *Tamuz*, answering to about the 16th of our *June*.

(e) On the first Day of the first Month, (ver. 13.) i. e. on the first of *Tizri*, or 16th of our *September*. (f) 27th of the second Month, i. e. 27th of *Marchesvan*, about the 10th of *November*.

Laws, for the future to be observed by them.

I. God granted them the Creatures of the World (a) for their Food, Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you, even as the green herb have I given you all things. In the first Ages of the World, Men lived upon the Fruits of Trees, and the Product of the Ground; and 'tis asserted by some Writers, that the Creatures were not used for either Food or Sacrifice. It is (b) thought that the Offering of *Abel*, who sacrificed of his Flocks, was only Wool, the Fruits of his Shearing; and Milk, or rather Cream, a Part of his Lactage. The Heathens are said to have had a general Notion, that the early Sacrifices were of this sort: *Theophrastus* is quoted by *Porphyry*,[†] in *Eusebius*, (c) asserting, that the first Men offered Handfuls of Grass; in time they came to sacrifice the Fruits of Trees; in After-Ages to kill, and offer Cattle upon their Altars. Many other Authors are cited for this Opinion; *Sophocles* (d) speaks of Wool and Grapes as an ancient Sacrifice; and *Pausanias* hints (e) the ancient Sacrifice to have been only Fruits of Trees, of the Vine especially, and Honey-combs and Wool; and *Plato*

† *Porphyry*
 a *Plat*: (A)
 in 7th sign
Dioclesian

a *Greek*
Philosopher
 lived about
 B. C. —

a *Greek*
Poet - *Athen*
 500 B. C.

(a) Gen. ix. 3. (b) The Hebrew Word *Minchah*, here used, conveys this Notion; מִנְחָה being the Word which signifies a Sacrifice here any Blood is shed. (c) Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 9. (d) *Sophoclis Polyid.* (e) *Pausanias de Cerere Phrygiensis.*

was

† *Pausanias* was an ancient Greek

was of opinion, that living Creatures (a) were not anciently offered in Sacrifice, but Cakes of Bread, and Fruits, and Honey poured upon them; and (b) *Empedocles* asserts, that the first Altars were not stained with the Blood of the Creatures. Some Christian Writers have gone into this Opinion, and improved it; they have imagined, that Sacrifices were offered only of those things which Men eat and drank for their Sustenance and Refreshment; and that therefore, before the Creatures were used for Food, they were not brought to the Altars; and they go further, and conjecture from hence, that the Original of Sacrifices was Human, Men being prompted by Reason to offer to God, by way of Gratitude, Part of those things for the Use of which they were indebted to his Bounty. I should rather think the contrary Opinion true. God appointed the Skins of Beasts for Cloathing to our first Parents, which could not be obtained without killing them, and this seems to intimate, that the Creatures were at that time appointed for Sacrifice. It looks unlikely that God should order the Creatures to be slain, merely for Cloathing, when Mankind were already supplied with another sort of Covering (c); but very probable,

(a) Plato de Legibus, l. 6. (b) Lib. de antiquissimis Temporibus. (c) Gen. iii. 7.

that, if he appointed a Creature to be offered in Sacrifice, he might direct the Offerer to use the Skin for Cloathing: And perhaps from this Institution was derived the Appointment in *Leviticus*, (a) that the Priest should have the Skin of the Burnt-Offering. There are several Considerations, which do, I think, very strongly intimate, both that Sacrifices of living Creatures were in use before Mankind had leave to eat Flesh, and also that the Origin of Sacrifices was at first by divine Appointment. The *Talmudists* agree, that *Holocausts* of the Creatures were offered in the earliest Times, and long before Men had leave to eat Flesh; and 'tis very plain, that *Noah* offered the Creatures before God had granted leave to eat them (b), for that Grant is represented to be made after *Noah's* Sacrifice, and not before it (c); and it is evident that the Distinction of *clean* and *unclean* Beasts, was before the Flood (d); and it cannot be conceived how there could be such a Distinction, if the Creatures were neither eaten, nor used for Sacrifice. *Abel's* Sacrifice seems rather to have been a (e) Burnt-Offering of the Firstlings of his Flock, than an Oblation of Wool and Cream. The Writer of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* took it to be so; he

(a) *Levit. vii. 8.* (b) *Gen. viii. 20.* (c) *Cap. ix. v. r. 3.*

(d) *Chap. vii. ver. 2.* (d) *See Levit. vi. 12.*

supposed *Abel's* Offering to be [*θυσία*] a Sacrifice of a Creature killed, and not an Oblation, which would have been called *προσφορά*, or *δῶρον* (*a*). And as to the first Origin of Sacrifices, it is extremely hard to conceive them to be an human Institution, because we cannot, this way, give any tolerable Account of the Reasons of them. If Mankind had in the first Ages no immediate Revelation, but came to their Knowledge of God by the Exercise of their Reason, it must be allowed, that such Notions as they had of God, such would be their Way and Method of serving him; but then, how is it possible that they should go into such Notions of God, as to make it seem proper for them to offer Sacrifices, in order to make Atonement for their Sins? Reason, if it led to any, would lead Men to a reasonable Service; but the Worship of God in the way of Sacrifice, cannot, I think, appear to be of this sort, if we take away the Reason that may be given for it from Revelation. We sacrifice to the Gods, said *Porphyry* (*b*), for three Reasons; either to pay them Wor-

(*a*) Heb. xi. 4. *Porphyry* in *Eusebius* endeavours very fallaciously to derive the Word *θυσία* from *θύμιον*. and would infer its Derivation from *θύω* to be modern. and taken up to defend the Doctrine of sacrificing living Creatures. See *Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 9.* But we answer, He offers no Reason for his Opinion, nor can it possibly be defended; *θυσία* and *θυμίασις* are, according to all Rules of Etymology, Words of a very different Derivation.

(*b*) In *Lib. de Sacrific.*

ship, or to return them Thanks for their Favours, or to desire them to give us good things, or to free us from Evils: *Ad hæc autem Votum animi satisfacit.* It can never be made out from any Natural Notions of God, that Sacrifices are a reasonable Method to obtain, or return Thanks for, the Favours of Heaven. The Result of a true rational Enquiry can be this only, that *God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth.* And tho' I cannot say, that any of the wise Heathens did by the Light of Nature bring themselves to a fix'd and clear Conviction of this great Truth, yet 'tis remarkable that several of them made great Advances towards it; and all the wise Part of them saw clearly, that no Rational or Philosophical Account could be given of their Sacrifices. The Institutors of them always pretended to have received particular Directions from the Gods about them (a), or at least those that lived in After-Ages chose to suppose so, not knowing how to support them otherwise. The more (b) forward Writers strove to decry them: the more moderate pleaded a Reverence to Antiquity, and long and universal Use in favour of them; and the

(a) Thus Numa's Institutions were appointed him by the Goddess Egeria. Florus. Livy. (b) See the Verses of the Greek Poet in Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. 7.

best Philosophers (a) qualified the Use of them, by using them in a way and manner of their own, always supposing, that the Disposition of the Offerer, and not the Oblation which was offered, was chiefly regarded by the Deity (b).

The true Account therefore of the Origin of Sacrifices, must be this; God, having determined what should, *in the Fullness of time*, be the true Propitiation for the Sins of the World, namely Christ, who by his own Blood obtained us eternal Redemption, thought fit from the beginning to appoint the Creatures to be offered by way of Figure, for the Times then present, to represent the true Offering which was afterwards to be made for the Sins of Men. The Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews very largely argues the Sacrifices in the Law to be grounded upon this Reason (c), and I should conceive that his Reasoning may be equally applied to the Sacrifices that were appointed before the Law; because Sacrifices were not a new Institution at the giving of the Law; for, says the Prophet, (d) *I spake not unto your Fathers, nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the land of*

(a) Many Instances might be brought from the Sacrifices of Pythagoras, vid. Jamb. de vit. Pythag. & Porphyr. de vita ejusdem. (b) See Jamb. de vit. Pythag. c. 7. (c) Chap. ix. & x. (d) Jer, vii. 22.

Egypt, concerning Burnt-offerings or Sacrifices; but this thing I commanded them, saying, Obey my voice, and ye shall be my people, and walk ye in all my ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well with you. There were no Sacrifices appointed in the two Tables delivered to *Moses*; and it is exceeding probable, that the Rules which *Moses* gave about Sacrifices and Oblations, were only a Revival of the ancient Institutions, with perhaps some few Additions or Improvements which God thought proper for the State and Circumstances thro' which he design'd to carry the *Jewish Nation*; for *the Law was added because of transgressions (a) until the Seed should come*, and not to set up a new Religion.

Our blessed Saviour, in his Discourse with the Woman of *Samaria*, *Job. iv.* plainly intimated, that the Worship of God by Sacrifices was a positive Institution, founded upon the Expectation of a promised *Messiah*; for he hints the *Samaritans*, who either used Sacrifices, imagining them part of Natural Religion, or at least did not know the Grounds of their being appointed; I say, he hints them to be blind and ignorant Will-worshippers, Men that worshipped *they knew not what*, ver. 22; or rather it should

(a) Gal. iii. 19.

be (a) translated, Men that worshipped *they knew not how*, i. e. in a way and manner, the Reason and Grounds of which they knew nothing of. But the *Jews* knew how they worshipped, for *Salvation was of the Jews*; the Promise of a *Messiah* had been made to them, and they had a good Reason to offer their Sacrifices, for they were a Method of Worship appointed by God himself, to be used by them until the *Messiah* should come. The *Woman's Answer*, ver. 25. *I know that Messiah cometh*, looks as if she apprehended our Saviour's true meaning.

The Reason given in the Eleventh Chapter to the *Hebrews*, for *Abel's* Sacrifice pleasing God better than *Cain's*, is another Proof that Sacrifices were appointed by some positive Institution of God's: *By Faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent Sacrifice than Cain*. The Faith, of which several Instances are given in this Chapter, is the Belief of something declared, and in consequence of such Belief, the Performance of some Action enjoyed by God. *By Faith Noah, being warned of God, prepared an ark*, i. e. he believed the Warning given him, and obediently

(a) In the Expressions ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε ὃ ἐν οἴδατε — ἡμεῖς προσκυνώμεν ὃ οἴδαμεν, the Preposition κατὰ is understood, κατ' ὃ οἴδατε. and κατ' ὃ οἴδαμεν. The Expression is frequent in all Greek Writers. If the Being worshipped had been referred to, I think it would have been ὄν, and not ὃ.

made the Ark, which he was ordered to make. *By Faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an Inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went,* i. e. he believed that God would give him what he had promised him, and in consequence of such Belief did what God commanded him. All the other Instances of Faith, mentioned in that Chapter, are of the same sort, and thus it was that *Abel by Faith offered a better Sacrifice than Cain.* He believed, what God had then promised, that the *Seed of the Woman should bruise the Serpent's head,* and in consequence of such Belief offered such a Sacrifice for his Sins, as God had appointed to be offered, *until the Seed should come.* If God, at that time, had given no Command about Sacrificing, there could have been no more of the Faith treated of in this Chapter, in *Abel's Sacrifice,* than in *Cain's Offering.* Cloppenburgh (a) has

(a) In Schol. Sacrific. p. 15. Etsi diversæ oblationi videatur occasionem præbuisse diversum vitæ Institutum, ipsi tamen Diversitati oblationis hoc videtur subesse; quod Abel pecudum oblatione cruenta ante omnia curavit, τὸ ἱλαστικόν διὰ τὸ πίσεως ἐν τῷ αἵματι, Propitiationem per Fidem in sanguine quo necessario purificanda erant dona Deo oblata, Heb. ix. 22, 23. Cainus autem oblatione sola Eucharisticâ de fructu Terræ defungens supinè neglexerit Sacrificium ἱλαστικόν, ut eo Nomine Deo displicerit, neque potuerit obtinere Justitiæ Dei, quæ ex Fide est, Testimonium, quod non perhibebat Deus neglecto isto externo Symbolo Supplicationis ex Fide pro Remissione

has given a very good Account of *Cain*, and *Abel's* Offering.

The Abettors of the other Side of the Question do indeed produce the Authorities of some Heathen Writers, and Rabbins; and of some Christian Fathers, and of some considerable Authors, both *Papists* and *Protestants*; but a general Answer may be given to what is offered from them. The Heathens had, as I observed, no true Notion of the Origin of Sacrifices: They were generally received and established in all Countries as positive Institutions; but the Philosophers were willing to prove them to be a reasonable Service, and therefore thinking they could give a better Account of the inanimate Oblations, than of the bloody Sacrifices, they imagined these to be the most ancient, and that the others were in time added to them: but there is no Heathen Writer that I know of, that has gone so far as to assert expressly, that Sacrifices were at first an human Institution, or that has proved

missione peccatorum obtinendâ. Quemadmodum ergo in cultu Spirituali Publicanus supplicans cum Peccatorum *ἑομολογήσει* descendit in Domum suam justificatus præ Pharisæo cum Gratiarum actione Deo vovente Decimas omnium, quæ possidebat, Luc. xviii. 12. Sic censemus hac parte potio- rem fuisse Abelis oblationem præ oblatione Caii, quod ipse Supplicationem suam pro impetrandâ Peccatorum Remissione testatus sit, per Sacrificii propitiatorii cruentam oblationem, cum alter Dona sua Eucharistico Ritu offerret *χωρὶς αἵματος χυσίας*.

(a) that

(a) that such a Worship could be invented by the Reason of Man, or that it is agreeable to any Notions we can have of God. The Rabbins had a general Notion that Sacrifices were first appointed, or rather permitted by God, in compliance with the Disposition which the *Israelites* had contracted in *Egypt*; but this Opinion is very weakly grounded. I cannot question but that when the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was written, the current Opinions of the *Jewish* Doctors were of another sort; for it is not to be supposed that the first Preachers of Christianity argued upon such Principles as they knew would not be admitted of by those whom they endeavoured to convert to their Religion. It is certain that the *Jewish* Rabbins, when they were pressed with the Force of Proofs in favour of Christ from their Scriptures, did depart from many of the Sentiments of their Ancestors, and went into new Notions in several Points, to evade the Arguments which they could not answer. The Christian Fathers have some of them taken the Side in this Question which I am contending for, especially *Eusebius* (b); and if some others of them have thought otherwise, this is

(a) *Jamblichus* says of Sacrifices, that they were derived ex communi hominum ad homines consuetudine, neque convenire Naturæ Deorum mores humanos supra modum exuperanti. Lib. de Myster. Ægypt. in cap. de utilitate Sacrificiorum.

(b) *Demonstrat. Evang. Lib. 1, c. 10.*

not a Point in which we are to be determined by their Authority. The Popish (a) Writers took up their Notion of Sacrifices in order to favour some of their Opinions about the Mass; and as to the Protestant Writers, it is not difficult to see which of them offer the best Reasons. One thing I would observe upon the whole: If it appears from History that Sacrifices have been used all over the World, have spread as far, as universally amongst Men, as the very Notions of a Deity; if they were the first, the earliest way of Worship in every Nation; if we find them almost as early in the World as Mankind upon the Earth, and at the same time cannot find that Mankind ever did, or could by the Light of Reason, invent such Notions of a Deity as should lead them to imagine this way of Worship to be a reasonable Service; then we must necessarily suppose that Sacrifices were appointed for some particular End and Purpose, and agree to what we find in *Moses's* History, that there was a revealed Religion in the Beginning of the World.

But however Writers have differed about what was offered before the Flood, it is agreed that Mankind eat no Flesh, until the Leave here obtained by *Noah* for

(a) Greg. de Valentia de Missæ Sacrific. l. 1. c. 4. & Bellarm. de Missâ, l. 1. c. 20.

it. *Every herb bearing seed, and every tree, to you it shall be for meat* (a). This was the whole Allowance which God at first made them; and all Writers, Sacred and Profane, do generally suppose that the early Ages confined themselves very strictly within the Limits of it.

If we rightly consider their Condition, whilst they were under this Restraint of Diet, their Lives must have been very laborious; the Sentence against *Adam*, which denounced that *in the sweat of their brow they should eat bread*, must have been literally fulfilled. We must not imagine that, *after the ground was cursed*, Men received from it a full and plenteous Product, without Tith or Culture, for the Earth was to bring forth of it self only Thorns and Thistles; Pains and Labour were required to produce another sort of Crop from it. The Poets in their Accounts of the Golden Age, suppose the Earth to have brought forth all its Fruits spontaneously; but it is remarkable that the Historians found no such Halcyon Days recorded in the Antiquities of any Nations. *Adam* and *Eve* are supposed to have had this Happiness whilst they lived in Paradise; and the Poets framed their Accounts of the Golden Age, from the ancient Notions of the Garden of *Eden*; but we do not find that

(a) Gen. i. 29.

the Prose-Writers fell into them. *Diodorus Siculus* supposes the Lives of the first Men to have been far from abounding with Ease and Plenty; "Having Houses
 " to build, (a) Cloaths to make, and not
 " having invented proper Instruments to
 " work with, they lived an hard and la-
 " borious Life; and many of them not
 " having made a due Provision for their
 " Sustainance, perished with Hunger and
 " Cold in Winters." This was his Account of the Lives and Condition of the first Men. The Art of Husbandry is now so generally understood, and such Plenty is produced by a due and proper Tillage, that it may seem no hard matter for any one, that has Ground to work on, to produce an ample Provision for Life; but even still, should any Family not used to Husbandry, nor supplied with proper Tools and Instruments for their Tillage, be obliged to raise from the Ground as much of all sorts of Grain as they should want, they would find their Time taken up in a variety of Labours. And this was the Condition of the first Men; they had not only to Till the Ground, but to try, and by several Experiments to find out the best and most proper Method of Tilling it, and to invent and make all such Instruments as they had occasion for; and we find them con-

(a) Lib. I.

feffing the Toil and Labour that was laid upon them, in the Words of *Lamech*, at the Birth of *Noah*, *This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed (a)*. *Lamech* was probably informed from God, that his Son *Noah* should obtain a Grant of the Creatures for the Use of Men; and knowing the Labour and Inconveniencies they were then under, he rejoiced in foreseeing what Ease and Comfort they should have, when they should obtain a large Supply of Food from the Creatures, besides what they could produce from the Ground by Tillage.

But *Secondly*, God restrained them from eating Blood (*b*), *But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat*. What the Design of this Restraint was, or what the very Restraint is, has been variously controverted. *Mr. Selden (c)* in his Book *De Jure Gentium juxta Disciplinam Hebræorum*, has a very learned Chapter upon this Subject, in which he has given us the several Opinions of the Rabbins, tho' I think they give us but little true Information about it. The Injunction of not eating Blood, has in the Place before us no Circumstances to explain its meaning; but if we look into the

(a) Gen. v. 29. (b) Chap. ix, ver. 4. (c) Lib. 7. c. 1.

Jewish Law, we find it there repeated, and such a Reason given for it as seems very probable to have been the first original Reason for this Prohibition; (a) *Whatever man there be of the house of Israel; or of the strangers that sojourn amongst you, that eateth any manner of blood, I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people; for the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given you that upon the Altar to make an atonement for your Souls; [or it might be translated, I have appointed you that to make atonement upon the Altar for your Souls; for it is the Blood that maketh an atonement for the Soul.]* An ancient *Jewish* Commentator upon the Books of *Moses* (b) paraphrases the Words pretty justly: “The Soul
 “ (says he) of all Flesh is in the Blood,
 “ and for that Reason I have chosen the
 “ Blood of all the Beasts to make an A-
 “ tonement for the Soul of Man.” This is by far the best Account that can be given of the Prohibition of Blood: God appointed that the Blood of the Creatures should be offered for the Sins of Men, and therefore required that it should be religiously set apart for that Purpose. If we examine the *Mosaical* Law, we shall

(a) *Levit* xvii. 10, 11. (b) *Chauskuni: and Eusebius* hints the same Reason, *Dem. Evang. Lib. 1. c. 10.*

find it strictly agreeable to this Notion. In some Places the Blood is appointed to be offered on the Altar, in others, to be poured on the Ground as Water; but these Appointments are easily reconcileable, by considering the Reason of each of them. Whilst the *Jews* were in the Wilderness, and the Tabernacle near at hand, they were ordered never to kill any thing to eat, without bringing it to be killed at the Door of the Tabernacle, in order to have the Blood offered upon the Altar (a). But when they came into the Land of *Canaan*, and were spread over the Country, and had a Temple at *Jerusalem*, and were commanded strictly to offer all their Sacrifices there only, it was impossible to observe the Injunction before named; they could not come from all Parts to *Jerusalem* to kill their Provision, and to offer the Blood upon the Altar. Against this Difficulty *Moses* provided in the Book of *Deuteronomy*, which is an Enlargement and Explanation of the Laws in *Leviticus*. The Substance of what he has ordered in this Matter, is as follows (b): That when they should come over *Jordan* to dwell in *Canaan*, and there should be a Place chosen by God, to cause his Name to dwell there, they were to bring all their Offerings to that Place (c), and to

(a) Levit. xvii. 3, 4. (b) Deut. xii. (c) Ver. 11, 12.

take heed not to offer any Offerings elsewhere (a). But if they lived so far from the Temple, that they could not bring the Creatures up thither which they killed to eat, they had leave *to kill and eat whatsoever they had a mind to*, only instead of offering the Blood; they were *to pour it upon the earth as water, and to take care that they eat none of it* (b). Thus the pouring out the Blood upon the Earth was appointed, where Circumstances were such that an Offering of it could not be made; and agreeably hereto, when they took any thing in Hunting, which probably might be so wounded as not to live until they could bring it to the Tabernacle to offer the Blood upon the Altar, they were to kill it, and pour out the Blood, and cover it with Dust (c). And we may from hence see the Reason for what *David* did, when his three Warriors brought him Water from the Well of *Bethlehem*, at the extreme Hazard of their Lives (d); looking upon the Water as if it were their Blood, which they hazarded to obtain it, he refused to drink it, and there being no Rule or Reason to offer such Water upon the Altar, he thought fit to do what was next to offering it, *he poured it out before the Lord*.

(a) Deut. xii. 13.
(d) 1 Chron. xi. 18.

(b) Ver. 21.

(c) Levit. xvii. 13.

There is no Foundation in either the Reason of the thing, or in the Prohibition, to support the Opinion of some Persons, who imagine the eating of Blood to be an Immoral thing: if it were so, God would not have permitted (a) the *Israelites* to sell a Creature that died in its Blood, to an Alien or Stranger, that he might eat it. The *Israelites* were strictly obliged by their Law to eat no Flesh until they had poured out the Blood, or offered it upon the Altar, because God had appointed the Blood to be an Atonement for their Sins; but the Alien and Stranger, who knew of no such Orders for the setting it apart for that Use, might as freely eat it as any Part of the Creature. And I think this Account of the Prohibition of Blood, will fully answer all the Scruples which some Christians have about it. The Use of it upon the Altar is now over, and therefore the Reason for abstaining from it is ceased. And tho' the Apostles at (b) the Council of *Jerusalem*, that Offence might not be given to the *Jews*, advised the Gentiles at that Season to abstain from it, yet the eating it, or not eating it, is no Part of our Religion, but we are at perfect Liberty in this Matter.

In the *Third* Place, God set before them the Dignity of Humane Nature, and

(a) Deut. xiv. 21. (b) Acts xv.

his Abhorrence of any Person's taking away the Life of his Brother, and commanded for the future, that Murther should be punished with Death. Then he promised *Noah*, that Mankind should never be destroyed by Water any more; and lest he or his Posterity should live in Fears, from the frequent Rains to which the World by its Constitution was become subject, he appointed the Rainbow (*a*) for a perpetual Memorial, that he had made them this Promise.

The Ark, we said, touch'd upon Mount *Ararat*. We do not find it floated away from thence, but rather conclude that here they came ashore. But where this *Ararat* is, has been variously conjectured. The common Opinion is, that the Ark rested on one of the *Gordyæan* Hills, which separate *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*; but there are some Reasons for receding from this Opinion.

1. The Journeying of Mankind from the Place where the Ark rested, to *Shinaar*, is said to be from the East (*b*); but a Journey from the *Gordyæan* Hills to *Shinaar*,

(a) Homer seems to have had a Notion that the Rain-bow was at first [to use Moles's Expression] set in the Cloud to be a Sign unto Men; for he speaks to this Purpose, *Iliad*. λ'. v. 28.

Ἐν νεφέῃ σήεξε τέρας μερόπων Ἀνθρώπων.

That *τέρας* here signifies a Sign, is evident from the 4th Verse of this *Iliad*. (*b*) *Gen*. xi. 1.

would be from the North. 2. *Noah* is not once mentioned in all the following Part of *Moses's* History; a strong Intimation that he neither came with these Travellers to *Shinaar*, nor was settled in *Armenia* or *Mesopotamia*, or any of the adjacent Countries. He was alive a great while after the Confusion of *Babel*, for he lived three hundred Years after the Flood; and surely if he had come to *Babel*, or lived in any of the Nations into which Mankind were dispersed from thence, a Person of such Eminence could not at once sink to nothing, and be no more mentioned in the History and Settlement of these Nations, than if he had not been at all. Some Authors, for these Reasons, have attempted to find Mount *Ararat* in another Place, and suppose it to be some of the Mountains North to *India*; they think that the Ark rested in this Country, and that *Noah* settled here after he came out of it: That only Part of his Descendants travelled into *Shinaar*, the other Part of them settled where he did; and that the Reason why *Moses* mentions neither him nor them, was because they lived at a great Distance from, and had no Share in the Actions of the Nations round about *Shinaar*, to whom alone, from the Dispersion of Mankind, he confines his History. The Reasons to be given for this Opinion are, 1. If *Ararat* be situate

as far East as *India*, the Travellers might very justly be said to journey from the East to *Shinaar*. 2. This Account is favoured by old Heathen Testimonies: “Two hundred and fifty Years before
 “ *Ninus* (says *Portius Cato*) the Earth was
 “ overflow’d with Waters, and Mankind
 “ began again in *Saga Scythia*.” Now *Saga Scythia* is in the same Latitude with *Bactria*, between the *Caspian Sea* and *Imaus*, North to Mount *Paraponisus*: And this agrees with the general Notion, that the (a) *Scythians* might contend for Primævity of Original with the most ancient Nations of the World. The later Writers, unacquainted with the original History of this People, recur (b) to Philosophical Reasons to support their Antiquity, and speak of them as seated near the *Mæotis* and *Euxine Sea*; but these *Scythians* so seated, must be some later Descendants or Colonies from the original *Scythians*; so late, that *Herodotus* (c) imagined their first Settlement under *Targitaus* to be not above an hundred Years before *Darius’s* repelling the *Scythians* who had invaded his Provinces, *i. e.* about *A. M.* 3400; so late, (d) that they thought themselves the most recent Nation in the

(a) *Justin. Lib. 2. c. 1.* (b) *Ibid. c. 1. & 2.* (c) *In Mel-poin.* (d) *Σκύθαι λέγουσι νεώτατον ἀπάντων ἰθύνων ἔθῃ τὸ σφέτερον, Herod. ibid.*

World. The original *Scythians* were situate (a), as I said, near *Bactria*. *Herodotus* places them as far East as *Persia* (b), and says that the *Persians* called them *Sacæ*, and supposes them and the *Bactrians* to be near Neighbours. 3. The Notion of *Noah's* settling in these Parts, as also his living here, and not coming at all to *Shinaar*, is agreeable to the *Chaldean* Traditions about the Deluge, which (c) inform us, that *Xisuthrus* (for so they called *Noah*) came out of the Ark with his Wife and Daughter, and the Pilot of the Ark, and offered Sacrifice to God, and then both he and they disappeared, and were never seen again: And that afterwards *Xisuthrus's* Sons journeyed towards *Babylonia*, and built *Babylon* and several other Cities. 4. The Language, Learning, and History of the *Chinese*, do all favour this Account; their Language seems not to have been altered in the Confusion of *Babel*; their Learning is reported to have been full as ancient as the Learning of the more Western Nations; their Polity is of another sort; and their Government established upon very different Maxims and Foundations; and their History reaches up indisputably to the Times of *Noah*, not falling short, like the

(d) See *Prod. Asiæ Tab.* (b) In *Polyhymn.* (c) See *Sanctus*, p. 30, 31. and *Eusebius* in *Chron.*

Histories of other Nations, such a Number of Years as ought to be allowed, for their Inhabitants removing from *Shinaar*, to their Place of Settlement. The first King of *China* was *Fobi*; and as I have before observed that *Fobi* and *Noah* were Cotemporaries, at least, so there are many Reasons from the *Chinese* Traditions concerning *Fobi*, to think him and *Noah* the same Person. 1. They say (a) *Fobi* had no Father, *i. e.* *Noah* was the first Man in the Postdiluvian World; his Ancestors perished in the Flood, and no Tradition hereof being preserved in the *Chinese* Annals, *Noah*, or *Fobi*, stands there as if he had no Father at all. 2. *Fobi*'s Mother is said (b) to have conceived him encompassed with a Rainbow; a Conceit very probably arising from the Rainbow's first appearing to *Noah*, and the *Chinese*s being willing to give some Account of his Original. 3. *Fobi* is said (c) to have carefully bred seven sorts of Creatures, which he used to sacrifice to the supreme Spirit of Heaven and Earth; and *Moses* tells us (d), that *Noah* took into the Ark, of every clean Beast by Sevens, and of Fowls of the Air by Sevens ——— and after the Flood *Noah* built an Altar, and took of every clean Beast, and every clean Fowl,

(a) Martini Hist. Sinica p. 21. (b) Id. ibid. (c) Le Compte, Mem. of China, p. 313. (d) Gen. vii. & viii.

and offered Burnt-offerings. 4. The *Chinefe* derive the Name of (a) *Fobi* from his Oblation, and *Mofes* gives *Noah* his Name upon account of the Grant of the Creatures for the Use of Men, which he obtained by his Offering. *Laftly*, the *Chinefe* History fuppofes *Fobi* to have fettled in the Province of *Xeuft*, which is the North-Weft Province of *China*, and near to *Ararat* where the Ark refted: But, 6. the History we have of the World does neceffarily fuppofe, that thefe Eaftern Parts were as foon Peopled, and as populous, as the Land of *Skinaar*; for in a few Ages, in the Days of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, about three hundred Years after the Difperftion of Mankind, the Nations that came of that Difperftion attack'd the Inhabitants of the Eaft with their united Force, but found the Nations about *Bactria*, and the Parts where we fuppofe *Noah* to settle, fully able to refift and repel all their Armies, as I fhall obferve hereafter in its proper Place. *Noah* therefore came out of the Ark near *Saga Scythia*, on the Hills beyond *Bactria*, North to *India*. Here he lived, and fettled a numerous part of his Pofterity, by his Counfels and Advice. He himfelf planted a Vineyard, lived a Life of Retirement, and after having feen his Offspring

(a) Couplet's Confutius. Procem. p. 38. 76.

spread around him, died in a good old Age. It were much to be wished that we could attain a thorough Insight into the Antiquities and Records of these Nations, if there be any extant. As they spread down to *India* South, and farther East into *China*, so 'tis probable they also peopled *Scythia*, and afterwards the more Northern Continent; and if *America* be any where joined to it, perhaps all that Part of the World came from these Originals. But we must now speak of that Part of *Noah's* Descendants which travelled from the East.

At what time these Men left *Noah*, we are no where informed, probably not 'till the Number of Mankind was encreased. Seventy Years might pass, before they had any thought of leaving their great Ancestor, and by that time Mankind might be multiplied to Hundreds, and they might be too many to live together in one Family, or to be united in any Scheme of Polity, which they were able to form or manage; and so a Number of them might have a mind to form a separate Society, and to journey and settle in some distant Country.

From *Ararat* to *Shinaar* is about twelve hundred Miles. We must not therefore suppose them to have got thither in an Instant. The Nature of the Countries they passed over, nay, I might
say

say the Condition the Earth it self must then be in, full of undrain'd Marshes and untrack'd Mountains, over-run with Trees and all sorts of rubbish of Seventy or Eighty Years Growth, without Curb or Culture, could not afford room for an open and easy Passage to a Company of Travellers; besides, such Travellers as they were, were not likely to press forwards with any great Expedition; an undetermined Multitude, looking for no particular Place of Habitation, were likely to fix in many, and to remove as they found Inconveniencies. Let us therefore suppose their Movements to be such as *Abraham* made afterwards, short Journeys, and Abodes here and there, 'till in ten or twelve Years they might come to *Shinaar*, a Place in all Appearance likely to afford them an open and convenient Country for their encreasing Families.

And thus about Eighty Years after the Flood, according to the *Hebrew* Computation, *Anno Mundi* (a) 1736, they might come to the Plain of *Shinaar*. They were now out of the narrow Passages and Fastnesses of the Mountains, had found an agreeable Country to settle in,

(a) According to the Fragment in Eusebius in Chron. they began to build their Tower A. M. 1736; ἀρξάμενοι (he says) βΨΛς ἔτει οἰκοδομεῖν τὸ πύργον: in which Number there is an evident Mistake, β instead of α, it should be α.ΨΛς.

and thought here to fix themselves and their Posterity. Ambition is a Passion extremely incident to our first setting out in the World; no Aims seem too great, no Attempts above or beyond us. So it was with these unexperienced Travellers, they had no sooner determined where to settle, but they resolved to make the Place remarkable to all Ages, to build a Tower which should be the Wonder of the World, and preserve their Names to the End of it. They set all Hands to the Work, and laboured in it, 'tis thought, for some Years; but alas! the first Attempt of their Vanity and Ambition, became a Monument of their Folly and Weakness; God confounded their Language in the midst of their Undertaking, and hereby obliged them to leave off their Project, and to separate from one another. If we suppose them to spend nineteen or twenty Years in settling and building, before their Language was confounded, the Division of the Earth must be placed *Anno Mundi* 1757, about One hundred and one Years after the Flood, when *Peleg* the Son of *Eber* was born; for the Name *Peleg* was given him, because (a) *in his time the Earth was divided*. And thus we have brought the History of Mankind to a Second great and remark-

(a) Gen. x. 25.

able Period. I shall carry it no further in this Book, but only add some Account of the Nature and Original of Language in general, and of the Confusion of it here spoken of. And,

1. It will, I think, be allowed me, that Man is the only Creature in the World that has the Use of Language. The Fables we meet in some ancient Writers, of the Languages of Beasts and Birds, and particularly of Elephants, are but Fables (a). The Creatures are as much beneath Speaking, as they are beneath Reasoning. They may be able to make some faint imperfect Attempts towards both; they may have a few simple Ideas of the things that concern them; and they may be able to form a few Sounds, which they may repeat over and over, without Variation, to signify to one another what their Natural Instincts prompt them to; but what they can do of this sort, is not enough for us to say they have the Use of Language. Man therefore is, properly speaking, the only conversible Creature of the World. The next Enquiry must be, how he came to have this Ability.

(a) *The Author of the latter Targum upon Esther reports, that Solomon understood the Language of the Birds, and sent a Bird with a Message to the Queen of Sheba, and Mahomet was silly enough to believe it, for we have much the same Story in his Alcoran. See Walton. Prolegom. 1. § 5.*

There

There have been many Writers who have attempted to account for the Original of Language: (a) *Diodorus Siculus*, and (b) *Vitruvius*, imagined that Men at first lived like Beasts, in Woods and Caves, forming only strange and uncouth Noises, until their Fears caused them to associate together; and that upon growing acquainted with one another, they came to correspond about things, first by Signs, then to make Names for them, and in time to frame and perfect a Language; and that the Languages of the World are therefore diverse, because different Companies of Men happening thus together, would in different Places form different Sounds or Names for things, and thereby cause a different Speech or Language about them. It must be confess'd this is an ingenious Conjecture, and might be received as probable, if we were to form our Notions of the Origin of Mankind, as these Men did, from our own, or other People's Fancies. But since we have an (c) History which informs us, that the Beginning both of Mankind and Conversation were in fact otherwise; and since all that these Writers have to offer about the Origin of Things, are but very trifling and inconsistent Conjectures, we have

(a) Lib. Hist. 1.
that of Moses.

(b) Architec. lib. 2, c. 21.

(c) Viz.

great Reason with (a) *Eusebius*, to reject this their Notion of the Origin of Language, as a mere Guess, that has no manner of Authority to support it.

Other Writers, who receive *Moses's* History, and would seem to follow him, imagine, that the first Man was created not only a reasonable, but a speaking Creature; and so (b) *Onkelos* paraphrases the Words, which we render, *Man was made a living Soul*, and says he was made [*ruah memallela*] a Speaking Animal. And some have carried this Opinion so far, as not only to think that *Adam* had a particular Language, as innate to him as a Power of Thinking, or Faculty of Reasoning, but that all his Descendants have it too, and would of themselves come to speak this very Language, if they were not put out of it in their Infancy by being taught another. We have no reason to think the first Part of this Opinion to be true: *Adam* had no need of an innate Set of Words, for he was capable of learning the Names of things from his Creator, or of making Names for Things by his own Powers, for his own Use. And as to the latter Part of it, that Children would of course speak an innate and original Language, if not prevented by Education, it is a very wild

(a) *Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 7.*
in loc.

(b) *See Targum*

and extravagant Fancy; an innate Language would be common to all the World; we should have it over (a) and above any adventitious Language we could learn; no Education could obliterate it; we could (b) no more be without it, than without our Natural Sense or Passions. But we find nothing of this sort amongst Men. We may learn (perhaps with equal Ease) any Language which in our early Years is put to us; or if we learn no one, we shall have no articulate way of speaking at all, as (c) *Psammiticus* King of *Egypt*, and (d) *Melabdin Echbar*, in the *Indies*, convinced themselves by Experiments upon Infants, whom they took care to have brought up without being taught to speak, and found to be no better than mute Creatures. For the Sound (e) which *Psammiticus* imagined to be a *Phrygian* Word, and which the Children he tried his Experiment upon, were supposed after two Years nursing to utter, was a meer Sound of no Signification, and no more a Word, than the Noises are which (f) Dumb People do often make, by a Pressure and opening of

(a) Franc. Valef. de Sacra Philof. c. 3. (b) See Mr. Lock's Essay, B. 1. (c) Herod. l. 2. (d) Purchaf. B. 1. c. 8. (e) The Sound was Bec, supposed to be like the Phrygian Word for Bread. (f) Postellus de Origin.

their Lips, and sometimes accidentally Children make it, of but three Months old.

Other Writers have come much nearer the Truth, who say, that the first Man was instructed to speak by God, who made him, and that his Descendants learnt to speak by Imitation from their Predecessors; and this I think is the very Truth, if we do not take it too strictly. The Original of our Speaking was from God; not that God put into *Adam's* Mouth the very Sounds which he designed he should use as the Names of Things, but God made *Adam* (a) with the Powers of a Man. He had the Use of an Understanding, to form Notions in his Mind of the things about him; and he had a Power to utter Sounds, which should be to himself the Names of Things, according as he might think fit to call them. These he might teach *Eve*, and in time both of them teach their Children; and thus begin and spread the first Language of the World. The Account which *Moses* gives of *Adam's* first Use of Speech, is intirely agreeable to this; (b) *And out of the ground the Lord God formed every Beast of the Field, and every Fowl of the Air,*

(a) In this Sense the Author of Ecclesiasticus conceived Man to be endued with Speech from God, Chap. xvii. ver. 5.

(b) Gen. ii. 19, 20.

and brought them unto Adam, to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living Creature, that was the Name thereof. And Adam gave Names to all Cattle. God is not here said to have put the Words into Adam's Mouth; but only to have set the Creatures before him, to put him upon using the Power he had, of making Sounds to stand for Names for them. It was Adam that gave the Names, and he had only to fix to himself what Sound was to stand for the Name of each Creature, and what he so fix'd, that was the Name of it.

Our next Enquiry shall be, of what sort, and what this first Language thus made, was. But, before we can determine this Matter, it will be proper to mention the Qualities which did very probably belong to the first Language.

And, 1. The Original Language must consist of very simple and uncompounded Sounds. If we attend to a Child in its first Effays towards Speech, we may observe its Noises to be a sort of Monosyllables, uttered by one Expression of the Voice, without Variation or Repetition; and such were probably the first Original Words of Mankind. We do not think the first Man laboured under the Imperfection of a Child, in uttering the Sounds he might aim at; but it is most natural to imagine, that he should express himself in Monosyllables.

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The modelling the Voice into Words of various Lengths and disjointed Sounds, seems to have been the Effect of Contrivance and Improvement, and was probably begun, when a Language of Monosyllables was found too scanty to express the several things which Men in time began to want to communicate to one another. If we take a View of the several Languages in the World, we shall allow those to have been least polish'd and enrich'd, which abound most in short and single Words; and this alone would almost lead us to imagine, that the first Language of Mankind, before it had the Advantage of any Refinement, was intirely of this Sort.

2. The first Language consisted chiefly of a few Names for the Creatures and Things that Mankind had to do with. *Adam* is introduced as making a Language, by his naming the Creatures that were about him. The chief Occasion he had for Language was perhaps to distinguish them in his Speech from one another; and when he had provided for this, by giving each a Name, as this was all he had a present Occasion for, so this might be all the Language he took care to provide for the Use of Life; or if he went further, yet,

3. The first Language had but one Part of Speech. All that the first Men could

have occasion to express to one another, must be a few of the Names and Qualities and Actions of the Creatures or Things about them; and they might probably endeavour to express these by one and the same Word. The *Hebrew* Language has but few Adjectives; so that 'tis easy to see how the Invention of a few Names of Things, may express Things and their Qualities. The Name *Man*, joyn'd with the Name of some fierce Beast, as *Lion-Man*, might be the first way of expressing a fierce Man. Many Instances of the same sort might be named; and it is remarkable, that this Particular is extremely agreeable to the *Hebrew* Idiom. In the same manner the Actions of Men or Creatures might be described; the adding to a Person's Name the Name of a Creature remarkable for some Action, might be the first way of expressing a Person's doing such an Action; our *English* Language will afford one Instance, if not more, of this Matter: The observing and following a Person where-ever he goes, is call'd *dogging*, from some sort of Dogs performing that Action with great Exactness; and therefore *Cain Dog Abel*, may give the Reader some Idea of the original Method of expressing *Cain's* seeking an Opportunity to kill his Brother, when the Names of Persons and Things were used to express the Actions that

that were done, without observing any Variations of Mood and Tense, or Number, or Person, for Verbs, or of Case for Nouns.

For, 4. all these were Improvements of Art and Study, and not the first Essay and original Production. It was Time and Observation that taught Men to distinguish Language into Nouns and Verbs; and afterwards made Adjectives, and other Parts of Speech. It was Time and Contrivance that gave to Nouns their Numbers; and in some Languages, a Variety of Cases, that varied Verbs by Mood, and Tense, and Number, and Person, and Voice; in a word, that found out proper Variations for the Words in use, and made Men thereby able to express more things by them, and in a better manner, and added to the Words in use new and different ones, to express new Things, as a further Acquaintance with the Things of the World gave Occasion for them. And this will be sufficient to give the Reader some ground to form a Judgment about the Languages, and to determine which is the most likely to have been the first and original one of Mankind: Let us now see how far we can determine this Question.

The Writers that have treated this Subject, do bring into Competition the *Hebrew*, *Chaldæan*, *Syrian*, or *Arabian*;

some one or other of these is commonly thought the Original Language: But the Arguments for the *Syrian* and *Arabian* are but few, and trifling. The *Chaldæan* Tongue is indeed contended for by very learned Writers; (a) *Cambden* calls it the Mother of all Languages; and *Theodoret*, amongst the Fathers, was of the same Opinion; and (b) *Amira* has made a Collection of Arguments, not inconsiderable, in favour of it; and (c) *Myricæus*, after him, did the same; and (d) *Erpenius* in his Oration for the *Hebrew* Tongue, thought the Arguments for the *Hebrew* and *Chaldæan* to be so equal, that he gave his Opinion no way, but left the Dispute about the Antiquity of these Languages as he found it.

I am apt to fancy, that if any one should take the Pains to examine strictly these two Languages, and to take from each what may reasonably be supposed to have been Improvements made since their Original, he will find the *Chaldæan* and *Hebrew* Tongue to have been at first the very same. There are evidently, even still, in the *Chaldæan* Tongue, great Numbers of Words the same with the *Hebrew*; perhaps as many as Mankind had

(a) *Britann.* 204.

(b) In *Præf. ad Grammat. suam*

Syram.

(c) In *Præf. ad Grammaticam suam Chaldæicam.*

(d) *Erpenius*, in *Orat. de ling. Heb. ait. adhuc sub judice lis est.*

for their Use before the Confusion of *Babel*: And there are many Words in the two Tongues, which are very different, but their Import or Signification is very often such, as may occasion us to conjecture that they were invented at, or since that Confusion. The first Words of Mankind were doubtless, as I have before said, the Names of the common Things and Creatures, and of their most obvious Qualities and Actions, which Men could not live without observing, nor converse without speaking of. As they grew more acquainted with the World, more Knowledge was acquired, and more Words became necessary. In time they observed their own Minds and Thoughts, and wanted Words to express these too; but 'tis natural to imagine that Words of this sort were not so early as those of the other; and in these latter sort of Words, namely, such as a large Acquaintance with the Things of the World, or a Reflection upon our Thoughts might occasion, in these the *Chaldæan* and *Hebrew* Language do chiefly differ, and perhaps few of these were in use before the Confusion of Tongues. If this Observation be true, it would be to little Purpose to consider at large the Dispute for the Priority of the *Hebrew* or *Chaldæan* Tongue; we may take either, and endeavour to strip it of all its Improvements, and see whether in its first

Infant State, it has any real Marks of an Original Language: I shall chuse the *Hebrew*, and leave the learned Reader to consider how far what I offer may be true of the *Chaldæan* Tongue also.

And if we consider the *Hebrew* Tongue in this View, we must not take it as *Moses* wrote it, much less with the Improvements or Additions it may have since received; but we must strip it of every thing which looks like an Addition of Art, and reduce it, as far as may be, to a true original Simplicity. And 1. All its Vowels and Punctuations, which could never be imagined until it came to be written, and which are in no wise necessary in writing it, are too modern to be mentioned. 2. All the prefix'd and affix'd Letters were added in time, to express Persons in a better manner than could be done without them. 3. The various Voices, Moods, Tenses, Numbers and Persons of Verbs, were not original, but were invented as Men found occasion for them, for a greater Clearness or *Copia* of Expression. 4. In the same manner, the few Adjectives they have, and the Numbers and Regimen of Nouns were not from the Beginning. By these means we may reduce the whole Language to the single Theme of the Verbs, and to the Nouns or Names of Things and Men; and of these I would observe, 1. That the

Hebrew Nouns are commonly derived from the Verbs; and this is agreeable to the Account which *Moses* gives of the first inventing the Names of Things: When *Cain* was to be named, his Mother observed, that she had *gotten* a Man from the Lord, and therefore called him *Cain*, from the Verb which signifies *to get*. So when *Seth* was to be named, she considered that God had *appointed* her another, and called his Name *Seth*, from the Verb which signifies *to appoint*. When *Noah* was to be named, his Father foresaw that he should comfort them, and so named him *Noah*, from the Verb which signifies *to comfort*. And probably this was the Manner in which *Adam* named the Creatures: He observed and considered some particular Action in each of them, fix'd a Name for that Action, and from that named the Creature according to it. 2. All the Verbs of the *Hebrew* Tongue, at least all that originally belong to it, consist uniformly of three Letters, and were perhaps at first pronounced as Monosyllables; for it may be the Vowels were afterwards invented, which dissolved some of the Words into more Syllables than one; and I am the more inclined to think this possible, because in many Instances the same Letter dissolves a Word, or keeps it a Monosyllable, according as the Vowel differs

that is put to it. [אָוֵן] *Aven*, is of two Syllables, [אָוֵר] *Aour*, and [אָוֵה] *Aouth*, are Words of one; and many *Hebrew* Words now pronounced with two Vowels, might originally have but one, [בָּרַךְ] *Barack*, to *blefs*, might at first be read [בָּרַךְ] *Brak*, with many other Words of the same fort. There are indeed several Words in this Language, which are not so easily reducible to Monosyllables, but these seem to have been compounded of two Words put together, as shall be observed hereafter. 3. The Nouns, which are derived from the Verbs, do many of them consist of the very same Letters with the Verbs themselves; probably all the Nouns did so at first, and the Difference there now is, in some of them, is owing to Improvements made in the Language. If we look into the *Hebrew* Tongue in this manner, we shall reduce it to a very great Simplicity; we shall bring it to a few Names of Things, Men and Actions; we shall make all its Words Monosyllables, and give it the true Marks of an original Language. And if we consider how few the Radical Words are, about five hundred, such a Paucity is another Argument in favour of it.

But there are learned Writers, who offer another Argument for the Primævity of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and that is, That the Names of the Persons mention-

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ed before the Confusion of *Babel*, as expressed in the *Hebrew*, do bear a just Relation to the Words from whence they were derived; but all this Etymology is lost, if you take them in any other Language into which you may translate them: Thus the Man was call'd *Adam*, because he was taken from the Ground; now the *Hebrew* Word [אָדָם] *Adam*, is, they say, derived from [אֲדָמָה] *Admah*, the Ground. So again, *Eve* had her Name because she was the Mother of all Living; and agreeably hereto [חַוְוָה] *Hevab*, is derived from the Verb [חָיָה] *Hajab*, to live. The Name of *Cain* was so called, because his Mother thought him gotten from the Lord; and agreeably to this Reason, for his Name [קַיִן] *Kain* is derivable from [קָנָה] *Kanah*, to get: the same might be said of *Seth*, *Noah*, and several other Words; but all this Etymology is destroy'd and lost, if we take the Names in any other Language, besides the original one in which they are given. Thus for Instance, if we call the Man in *Greek*, Ἄνθρωπος, or Ἄνθρωπος, the Etymology is none between either of these Words, and γῆ, the Earth, out of which he was taken. If we call *Eve*, Ἐβα, it will bear no Relation to ζῶ, to live; and Καὶν bears little or no Relation to any *Greek* Word, signifying to get. To
all

all this (a) *Grotius* answers, that *Moses* took an exact Care, not to use the original proper Names in his *Hebrew* Book, but to make such *Hebrew* ones, as might bear the due Relation to a *Hebrew* Word of the same Sense with the original Word from whence these Names were at first derived. Thus in *Latin*, *Homo* bears as good a Relation to *Humus*, the Ground, as *Adam*, in *Hebrew*, does to *Admah*; and therefore if *Adam* were translated *Homo*, in the *Latin*, the Propriety of the Etymology would be preserved, tho' the *Latin* Tongue was not the Language in which the first Man had his Name given. But how far this may be allowed to be a good Answer, is submitted to the Reader.

There is indeed another Language in the World, which seems to have some Marks of its being the first original Language of Mankind, it is the *Chinese*; its Words are even now very few, not above Twelve hundred; the Nouns are but Three hundred and twenty six; and all its Words are confessedly Monosyllables. *Noah*, as has been observed, very probably settled in these Parts; and if the great Father and Restorer of Mankind came out of the Ark and settled

(a) In Gen. ii. & Not. ad Lib. 1. de Verit. n. 16.

here, 'tis very probable that he left here the one universal Language of the World. It might be an entertaining Subject for any one that understood this Language, to compare it with the *Hebrew*, to examine both the Tongues, and strip each of all Additions and Improvements they may possibly have received, and try whether they may not be reduced to a pretty great Agreement with one another. But how far this can be done, I cannot say. However this I think looks pretty clear; that whatever was the Original of the *Chinese* Tongue, it seems to be the first that ever was in those Parts. All Changes and Alterations of Language are commonly for the better, but the *Chinese* Language is so like a first and uncultivated Essay, that it is hard to conceive any other Tongue to have been prior to it; and since I have mentioned it, I may add, that whether this be the first Language or no, the Circumstance of this Language's consisting of Monosyllables, is a very considerable Argument that the first Language was in this Respect like it; for tho' 'tis natural to think that Mankind might begin to form single Sounds first, and afterwards come to enlarge their Speech by doubling and redoubling them; yet it can in no wise be conceived, that if Men had at first known the Plenty of Expression, arising from Words of more Syllables
than

than one, any Person or People would have been so stupid as to have reduced their Languages to Words of but one.

We have still to treat of the Confusion of the one Language of the World. Before the Confusion of *Babel*, we are told that the *whole Earth was of one Language, and of one Speech*. Hitherto the first original Language of Mankind had been preserved with little or no Variation, for near two thousand Years together; and now, in a little Space of Time, a Set of Men, associated and engaged in one and the same Undertaking, came to be so divided in this Matter, as not to understand one another's Expressions; *their Language was confounded, that they did not understand one another's Speech*, and so were obliged to leave off building their City, and were by degrees scattered over the Face of the Earth.

Several Writers have attempted to Account for this Confusion of Language, but they have had but little Success in their Endeavours. What they offer as the general Causes of the Mutability of Language, does in no wise come up to the Matter before us; it is not sufficient to account for this first and great Variation. The general Causes (*a*) of the Mutability of Language, are commonly re-

(a) Bodinus in Method. Hist. c. 9.

duced to these three, 1. The Difference of Climates. 2. An Intercourse or Commerce with different Nations; or, 3. The unsettled Temper and Disposition of Mankind.

1. The Difference of Climates will insensibly cause a Variation of Language, because it will occasion a Difference of Pronunciation. It is easy to be observed, that there is a Pronunciation peculiar to almost every Country in the World, and according to the Climate, the Language will abound in Aspirates or Lenes, guttural Sounds or Pectorals, Labials or Dentals; a Circumstance which would make the very same Language found very different from its self, by a different Expression or Pronunciation of it. The (*a*) *Ephraimites*, we find, could not pronounce the Letter *Schin* as their Neighbours did. There is a Pronunciation peculiar to almost every Province, so that if we were to suppose a Number of Men of the same Nation and Language dispersed into different Parts of the World, the several Climates which their Children would be born in, would so affect their Pronunciation, as in a few Ages to make their Language very different from one another.

(*a*) Judges xii. 6.

2. A Commerce or Intercourse with foreign Nations does often cause an Alteration of Language. Two Nations, by trading with one another, shall insensibly borrow Words from each other's Language, and intermix them in their own; and it is possible, if the Trade be of large Extent, and continued for a long time; the Number of Words so borrowed shall encrease and spread far into each Country, and both Languages in an Age or two be pretty much altered by the Mixture of them. In like manner, a Plantation of Foreigners may by degrees communicate Words to the Nation they come to live in. A Nation's being conquered, and in some Parts peopled by Colonies of the Conquerors, may be of the same Consequence; as may also the receiving the Religion of another People. In all these Cases, many Words of the Sojourners, or Conquerors, or Instructors, will insensibly be introduced, and the Language of the Country that received them, by degrees altered and corrupted by them.

3. The third and last Cause of the Mutability of Language, is the unsettled Temper and Disposition of Mankind. The very Minds and Manners of Men are continually changing; and since they are so, it is not likely that their Idioms and Words should be fix'd and stable. An Uniformity

ty of Speech depends upon an entire Consent of a Number of People in their Manner of Expression; but a lasting Consent of a large Number of People, is hardly ever to be obtained, or long to be kept up in any one Thing; and unless we could by Law prescribe Words to the Multitude, we shall never find it in Diction and Expression. *Ateius Capito* would have flattered *Cæsar* into a Belief, that he could make the *Roman* Language what he pleas'd; but *Pomponius* very honestly assured him he had no such Power (a). Men of Learning and Observation may think and speak accurately, and may lay down Rules for the Direction and Regulation of other People's Language, but the Generality of Mankind will still express themselves as their Fancies lead them; and the Expression of the Generality, tho' supported by no Rules, will be the Current Language; and hence it will come to pass, that we shall be always so far from fixing any Stability of Speech, that we shall continually find the Observation of the Poet verified:

*Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore Vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes Arbitrium est & Jus & Norma
loquendi.*

(a) For this Reason the great Orator observes, *Usum loquendi Populo concessi, Scientiam mihi reservavi. Cic. de Oratore.*

Language will be always in a fluctuating Condition, subject to a Variety of new Words and new Expressions, according as the Humour of the Age, and the Fancies of Men shall happen to introduce them.

These are the general Reasons of the Mutability of Language; and it is apparently true, that some or other of these have, ever since the Confusion of *Babel*, kept the Languages of the World in a continual Variation. The *Jews* mixing with the *Babylonians*, when they were (a) carried into Captivity, quickly altered and corrupted their Language, by introducing many *Syriacisms* and *Chaldeisms* into it. And afterwards, when they became subject to the (b) *Greeks* and *Romans*, their Language became not only altered, but as it were lost, as any one will allow, that considers how vastly the old *Hebrew* differs from the Rabbinical Diction, and the Language of the *Talmuds*. The *Greek* Tongue in time suffered the same Fate, and Part of it may be ascribed to the *Turks* over-running their Country, and Part of it to the Translation of the *Roman* Empire to *Constantinople*; but some Part of the Change came from themselves; for, as *Brerewood* has observed, they had changed

(a) Walton, Prolegom. (b) Id. Ibid.

many of their ancient Words, long before the *Turks* broke in upon them, of which he gives several Instances out of the Books of *Cedrenus*, *Nicetas*, and other *Greek* Writers (a).

The numerous Changes which the *Latin* Tongue (b) has undergone, may be all accounted for by the same Reasons: They had in a Series of Years so diversify'd their Language, that the *Salian* Verses compos'd by *Numa*, were scarce understood by the Priests in *Quintilian's* Time; and there were but few Antiquaries within about three hundred and fifty Years, that could read and give the Sense of the Articles of Treaty between *Rome* and *Carthage*, made a little after the Expulsion of the Kings. The Laws of the Twelve Tables, collected by *Fulvius Ursinus*, and published in the Words of the Kings and *Decemviri* that made them, are a Specimen of the very great Alteration that Time introduced into the *Latin* Tongue: Nay, the Pillar in the Capitol, erected in Honour of *Drusillus*, about One hundred and fifty Years before *Cicero*, shews, that even so small a Tract of Time as a Century and half, caused great Variations. After the *Roman* Tongue attained the Height of its

(a) Walton in Prolegom. de Linguarum Naturâ, &c.

(b) Id. ibid.

Purity, it quickly declined again and became corrupted, partly from the Number of Servants kept at *Rome*, who could not be supposed to speak accurately, and with Judgment; and partly from the great Concurrence of Strangers, who came from the remote Provinces, so that the Purity of it was to a great degree worn off and gone, before the Barbarisms of the *Goths* quite extinguished it.

And what has thus happened in the learned Languages, is as observable in all the other Languages of the World; Time and Age varies every Tongue on Earth. Our *English*, the *German*, *French*, or any other, differs so much in three or four hundred Years, that we find it difficult to understand the Language of our Fore-fathers; and our Posterity will think ours as Obsolete, as we do the Speech of those that lived Ages ago: And all these Alterations of the Tongues may, I think, be sufficiently accounted for by some or other of the Causes before assigned; but none of them does at all shew how or by what means the Confusion at *Babel* could be occasioned. Our Builders had travelled from their Ancestors many hundreds of Miles, from *Ararat* to *Shinaar*; the Climates may differ, and suppose we should imagine the Country to affect the Pronunciation of the Children born in it, yet still it will be hard to say that this
 should

should breed a Confusion; for since they were all born in or near the same Place, they would be all equally affected, and speak all alike. Besides, a Difference of Pronunciation causes Difficulties only where Persons come to converse, after living at a Distance from one another. An Imperfection in our Children's Speech, bred up under our Wing, would be observed from its Beginning, grow familiar to us as they grew up, and the Confusion would be very little, that could be occasioned by it. And as to any Commerce with other Nations, they had none; they were neither conquered nor mingled with Foreigners; so that they could not learn any strange Words this way. And tho' there have been many Changes of Language from the Variability of Men's Tempers, these we find have been frequent since this first Confusion, but how or why they should arise at this Time, is the Question. Language was fixt and stable, uniformly the same for almost two thousand Years together; it was now some way or other unfix'd, and has been so ever since. There are some considerable Writers that seem to acknowledge themselves puzzled at this extraordinary Accident. The Confusion of Tongues could not come from Men, says (a)

(a) Thef. Ambros. de causis Mutationis Linguarum.

St. *Ambrose*, for why should they be for doing such a Mischief to themselves, or how could they invent so many Languages as are in the World? It could not be caused by Angels good or bad, says (a) *Origen*, and the (b) *Rabbins* and (c) other Writers, for they have not Power enough to do it. The express Words of *Moses*, *Go to, let us go down and confound their Language*; and again, *the Lord did confound the Language of the Earth*, (says (d) *Bishop Walton*) imply a deliberate Purpose of God himself to cause this Confusion, and an actual Execution of it. And the way in which it was performed, says the learned (e) *Borchart*, immediately, and without Delay, proves it the immediate Work of God, who alone can instantly effect the greatest Purposes and Designs. Several of the *Rabbins* have enquired more curiously into the Affair, but I fear the Account they have given of it is poor and trifling. *Buxtorf* has collected all their Opinions, but they seem to have put him out of Humour with the Subject, and to occasion him to conclude in the Words of *Mercerus*, “ There is no Reason to enquire too curiously into this Matter:

(a) *Origen*. Hom. 11. (b) *Jonath.* & al. in Gen. xi. 7, 8.
 (c) See *Luther* in Gen. xi. *Corn. a Lapide* in Gen. xi. (d) *Prolegom.* (e) *Geograph. Sac.* p. 1, l. 1, c. 15,

“ It was effected instantly, in a Way and
“ Manner which we can give no Ac-
“ count of; we know of many Things,
“ that they were done, but how they
“ were done we cannot say. It is a Mat-
“ ter of Faith.”

The Builders of *Babel* were evidently Projectors, their designed Tower is a Proof of it; and if they had one Project, and an idle one, why might they not have others? Language was but one, until they came to multiply the Tongues; but that One was without doubt scanty, fit only to express the early Thoughts of Mankind, who had not yet subdued the World, nor arrived at a large and comprehensive Acquaintance with the Things of it. There had passed but eight or nine Generations to the building of *Babel*, and all of them led in a plain uncultivated Method of Living: But Men now began to build Towers, to open to themselves Views of a larger Fame, and consequently of greater Scenes of Action than their Ancestors had pursued. And why may not the Thoughts of finding new Names for the Things which their enlarged Notions offered to their Consideration, have now risen? God is said to have sent down and confounded their Language; but 'tis usual to meet with Things spoken of as immediately done by God, which were effected not by extraordinary

Miracle, but by the Course of Things permitted by him, to work out what he would have done in the World. Language was without doubt enlarged at some particular Time; and if a great deal of it was attempted at once, a Confusion would naturally arise from it. When *Adam* gave the first Names to Things, he had no one to contradict him; and so what he named Things, that was the Name of them; for how should his Children refuse to call Things, what he had taught them from their Infancy to be the Names of them? and indeed *Adam's* Life, and the Life of his immediate Children, reach'd over so great a Part of the first World, that it is hard to conceive Men could vary their Speech much, whilst under the immediate Influence of those who taught them the first Use of it. But the Men of *Shinaar* were got away from their Ancestors, and their Heads were full of Innovations; and the Projectors being many, the Projects might be different, and the Leading Men might make up several Parties amongst them. If we were to suppose the whole Number of them to be no more than a thousand, twenty or thirty Persons endeavouring to invent new Words, and spreading them amongst their Companions, might in time cause a deal of Confusion. It does indeed look more like a Miracle, to suppose the Confusion

fusion of Tongues effected instantly, in a Moment; but the Text does not oblige us to think it so sudden a Production. From the Beginning of *Babel* to the Dispersion of the Nations, might be several Years; and perhaps all this Time a Difference of Speech was growing up, until at length it came to such an Height, as to cause them to form different Companies, and so to separate. As to *St. Ambrose's* Argument, that Men would not do themselves such a Mischief, it is not a good One; for, 1. Experience does not shew us, that the Fear of doing Mischief has ever restrain'd the Projects of ambitious Men. 2. We often see the Enterprizes of Men run on to greater Lengths than they ever designed them, and in Time spreading so far, as to be out of the Power and Reach of their first Authors to check and manage them; for this is a Method by which God often defeats the Counsels, and controuls the Actions of Men: Their own Projects take Turns that are unexpected, and they are often unable to manage the Designs which themselves first set on foot; nay, they are many times defeated and confounded by them. And 3. I do not see any Mischief that arose, even from the Confusion of Language. It would have been inconvenient for Men to have been always bound up within the narrow Limits of the first scanty and confined

Language; and tho' the enlarging Speech happened to scatter Men over the Face of the Earth, it was fit, and for the publick Good, that they should be so scattered.

If I may be indulged in one Conjecture more, I would offer, that at this Time the Use of Words of more Syllables than one began amongst Men; for we find that the Languages which most probably arose about this Time, do remarkably differ from the most ancient *Hebrew*, in Words of a greater Length than the original *Hebrew* Words seem to be of. The *Chaldæan* Words are many times made different from the *Hebrew*, by some final Additions; and the Words in that Language, which differ from the *Hebrew*, are generally of more Syllables than the old *Hebrew* Radicals. The *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, and *Arabian* Tongues do, I think, afford Instances of the same sort; and the more modern Tongues, as the *Greek* and *Latin*, which probably arose by some Refinements of these, have carried the Improvement further, and run into more in Number, and more compounded Poly-syllables; whereas on the contrary, the Languages of a more barbarous and less cultivated Original, keep a nearer Resemblance to the peculiar Quality of the first Tongue, and consist chiefly of short and single Words. Our *English* Language is now smooth'd and enrich'd to a great Degree, since the Studies

dies of polite Literature have spread amongst us; But 'tis easy to observe, that our Tongue was originally full of Monosyllables; so full, that if one were to take Pains to do it, we may speak most Things we have to speak of, and at the same time scarce use a Word of more Syllables than one. But I pretend to hint at these Things only as Conjectures. The Reader has my full Consent to receive them or reject them as he pleases.

There is one Enquiry more about the Languages of the World, which I would just mention, and that is, how many arose from the Confusion of *Babel*. Some Writers think *Moses* has determined this Question, by giving us the Names of the Leading Men in this Affair. He has given us a Catalogue of the Sons of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, and told us, that by them was the Earth divided, *after their Families, Lands, Tongues, and Nations*. But I think there is some Difficulty in conceiving all the Persons there mentioned to have headed Companies from *Babel*; for it is remarkable, that they differ from one another in Age, by several Descents; and it is not likely that many of them could be at that time old enough to be Leaders; nay, and certain from History, that some of them were not so, whilst their Fathers were alive. Other Writers therefore have endeavoured to reduce the
Num-

Number to Seventy, and (a) think that there were Seventy different Nations thus planted in the World, from the Disperſion at *Babel*; and this Notion they think ſupported by the expreſs Words of *Mofes* in another Place. (b) *When the moſt high divided to the Nations their Inheritance, when he ſeparated the Sons of Adam, he ſet the Bounds of the People according to the number of the Children of Iſrael, i. e. ſay they, he divided them into Seventy Nations, which was the Number of the Children of Iſrael when they came into Egypt. The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uziel very plainly favours this Interpretation of the Words of Mofes, but the Jeruſalem Targum differs from it: According to that, the Number of Nations were but Twelve, anſwering to the twelve Tribes of the Children of Iſrael: But I ſhould think that neither of the Targums expreſs Mofes's Meaning. The People in the Text, are not the whole diſperſed Number that were at Babel, but the Inhabitants of Canaan; and the true Meaning of the Words of Mofes is this, that when God divided to the Nations their Inheritance, when he ſeparated the Sons of Adam, he ſet the*

(a) *Many Writers have been of this Opinion, but the Grek Fathers make the Number 72. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. Eusebius in Chron. l. 1. p. 11. Epiphanius adver. Hæref. 1. § 5. And the Latin Fathers have follow'd 'em, Aug. de Civit. Dei. Proſper de vocat. Gentium, l. 2. c. 4. & alii.* (b) *Deut. xxxii. 8.*

Bounds of *THE PEOPLE* [*i. e.* which had *Canaan*, the design'd Inheritance of *Jacob*] according to the Number of the Children of *Israel*; *i. e.* he gave the *Canaanites* such a Tract of Land as he knew would be a sufficient Inheritance for the Children of *Israel*. And thus this Text will in no wise lead us to the Number of the Nations that arose at *Babel*. That Question is most likely to be determined by considering how many Persons were Heads of Companies immediately at the Time of the Dispersion. One Thing I would observe, that how few or how many soever the Languages were now become, yet many of them, for some Time, did not differ much from one another. For *Abraham*, an *Hebrew*, lived amongst the *Chaldæans*, travelled amongst the *Canaanites*, sojourned with the *Philistines*, and lived some time in *Egypt*, and yet we do not find he had any remarkable Difficulty in Conversing with them. But tho' the Difference of the Tongues was at first but small, yet every Language, after the Stability of Speech was lost, varying in Time from it self, the Language of different Nations in a few Ages became vastly different, and unintelligible to one another. And thus in the Time of *Joseph*, when his Brethren came to buy Corn in *Egypt*, we find the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* Tongues so diverse, that they used an Interpreter in their Conversation.

The

The gradual Decline of Men's Lives, from longer to shorter Periods, without doubt contributed a great deal to daily Alterations; for when Men's Lives were long, and several Generations lived together in the World, and Men, who learnt to speak when Children, continued to speak to their Children for several Ages, they could not but transmit their Language thro' many Generations with but little Variation: But when the Successions of Mankind came on quicker, the Language of Ancestors was more liable to grow Obsolete, and there was an easier Opportunity for Novelty and Innovation to spread amongst Mankind. And thus the Speech of the World, confounded first at *Babel*, received in every Age new and many Alterations, until the Languages of different Nations came to be so very various and distinct, as we now find them from one another,





The SACRED *and* PROPHANE

H I S T O R Y

Of the WORLD *Connected.*

B O O K III.



HE People at *Shinaar*, upon the Confusion of their Language, in a little Time found it necessary to separate; and accordingly they divided themselves under the Conduct of the Leading-Men amongst them. And some Writers imagine, that they formed as many Societies as *Moses* has given us Names of the Sons of *Noah*, *Gen. x.* for, say they, in the Words of *Moses*, *These were the Sons of Noah after their Families, after their Tongues, in their Lands, after their Nations,*

tions, and by these were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood; but, I think, this Opinion cannot be admitted, for several Reasons.

1. The Dispersion of Mankind happening about the Time of *Peleg's* Birth, it is very plain that all the Persons named by *Moses*, which must appear younger, or not much older than *Peleg*, could not be Heads of Nations, or Leaders of Companies at this Time, for they were but Infants, or Children; and therefore the Sons of *Jocktan*, who dwelt from *Mesha* to *Sepphar*, had no Hand in this Dispersion; they were perhaps not born, or at most very young Men. They must therefore be supposed to have settled at first under their Fathers; in time each of them might remove with a little Company, and so have a Kingdom or Nation descend from him.

2. The Persons named by *Moses*, as concerned in the Dispersion, both in the Families of *Japhet* and *Ham*, were none of them lower in Descent than the third Generation; they are either Sons or Grandsons of *Japhet* or *Ham*; as *Gomer*, and the Sons of *Gomer*; *Javan*, and the Sons of *Javan*; *Cush*, and the Sons of *Cush*; *Mizraim*, and the Sons of *Mizraim*. The Descendants of *These* made a Figure afterwards, as appears from the manner of mentioning a Son of *Castubim*,

out

out of whom came *Philistim*, plainly intimating, that the Person so named was a Descendant of *Caslubim*, later than these Days; and if this Observation may be allowed in the Family of *Arphaxad*, neither *Selab* nor *Eber* were Leaders of Companies at the Confusion of Tongues.

3. Not all the Persons here mentioned, even of the third Generation, were immediately Heads of different Nations, at the Time of the Dispersion; for *Canaan* had eleven Sons, but they did not immediately set up eleven Nations, but *afterwards were the Families of the (a) Canaanites spread abroad*. They at first lived together under their Father, and some time after separated, and in time became eleven Nations in the Land of *Canaan*. In the same manner, very probably, the Sons of *Aram* lived under their Father in *Syria*; and it is evident from the History of *Egypt*, that *(b) Mizraim's* Children set up no Kingdoms there during his Life.

4. The same Observation may be made in other Families; and we may also consider, that sometimes some one of the Children was the Leader; and the Father of the Family, as well as the rest, lived in the

(a) Gen. x. 18. (b) The Word *Mizraim* is of the Plural Number, as are several other Names here used by Moses; however, that I might not vary from the Words of Moses, I have used them as Singulars.

Society erected by him. Thus, for Instance, we do not find that *Cush* was a King in any Country; all the Countries into which his Children separated, came in time to be called after his Name, as shall be observed hereafter; but the Place where he himself lived was encompassed by the River *Gibon* (*a*), and therefore most probably within the Compass of his Son *Nimrod's* Dominions. And the Names of Places do not always prove the Persons whose Names they bear, to have been Kings in them, or to have first Peopled them, for sometimes Rulers named Places after the Names of their Ancestors, and sometimes after the Names of their Children. The Children of *Dan*, named *Leshem Dan*, after the Name of *Dan* their Father (*b*); and *Kirjath-Arba* was by *Caleb* called *Hebron*, after the Name of *Hebron* his Grandson (*c*).

5. The Numbers of Mankind at this Time, is a good Proof, that all the Persons named by *Moses* could not be Leaders of Companies, and Planters of Nations, at the Dispersion from *Babel*; for at the Birth of *Peleg*, the Men, Women, and Children at *Shinaar* could not be more in Number than 1500, and not above 500 of them of the Age of 30 Years: Such a

(a) Gen. ii. 13.
1 Chron. ii. 42.

(b) Joshua xix. 47.

(c) Judges i. 10.

Body cannot be conceived sufficient to afford People for Sixty or Seventy Kings to plant Nations with, in several distant Parts of the World; they would not, at this Rate, have had above one or two and twenty Men, Women, and Children, in a Kingdom.

But, 6. The Manner in which Mankind were dispersed, is a farther Proof that they did not go forth at first in many Companies, to plant different Nations; for if we consider the Situation of the Nations which were named after these Men, we shall find, that, notwithstanding all the Confusion of Tongues, and Diversities of their Language, yet it so happened in their Dispersion from one another, that, except three or four Instances only, the Sons of *Japhet* peopled one Part of the World, the Sons of *Shem* another, and the Sons of *Ham* a third. Their Families were not scattered here and there, and intermingled with one another, as would very probably have happened, if sixty or seventy different Languages had immediately arose amongst them, and caused them to separate in so many Companies, in order to plant each a Country, to be inhabited by as many as agreed in the same Expression. If, at the first Confusion of Tongues, the Sons of *Shem* had differed from the Sons of *Shem*, and the Sons of *Ham* from the Sons of *Ham*, and the Children of *Japhet* from

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their Brethren, each one speaking a Language of his own, the Dispersion would in no wise have been so regular as we shall find it; each Leading-Man must have taken his own Way, and the several Branches of each Family must have been scattered here and there, as the accidental Travels of their Leaders might happen to have carried them. Nothing less than a very extraordinary Miracle could have sorted them, as it were, and caused the Children of each Family to sit down round about and near to one another (a).

From all these Considerations therefore, I cannot but imagine the common Opinion about the Dispersion of Mankind, to be a very wrong one. The Confusion of Tongues arose at first from small Beginnings, increased gradually, and in Time grew to such an Height, as to scatter Mankind over the Face of the Earth. When these Men came first to *Babel*, they were but few, and very probably lived together in three Families, Sons of *Shem*, Sons of *Ham*, and Sons of *Japhet*; and the Confusion arising from some Leading-Men in each Family inventing new Words,

(a) The Writers upon this Subject generally suppose this Particular to have been the Effect of a Miracle; but I think it may be better accounted for in a Natural Way; and the Advice of the Poet to the Writers of his Times, is not impertinent to the Readers even of the Inspired Books;

Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice Nodus
Inciderit.

and

and endeavouring to teach them to those under their Direction, this in a little time divided the three Families from one another; for the Sons of *Japhet* affecting the novel Inventions of a Son of *Japhet*; the Sons of *Ham* affecting those of a Son of *Ham*; and the Sons of *Shem* speaking the new Words of a Son of *Shem*, a Confusion would necessarily arise, and the three Families would part, the Instructors leading off all such as were Initiated in their Peculiarities of Speech. This might be the first Step taken in the Dispersion of Mankind; they might at first break into three Companies only; and when this was done, new Differences of Speech still arising, each of the Families continued to divide and sub-divide amongst themselves, Time after Time, as their Numbers increased, and new and different Occasions arose, and Opportunities offered; until at length there were planted in the World, from each Family, several Nations, called after the Names of the Persons of whom *Moses* has given us a Catalogue. This I think is the only Notion we can form of the Confusion and Division of Mankind, which can give a probable Account of their being so dispersed into the World, as to be generally settled according to their Families; and the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, if rightly considered, implies no more than this: for the Design of *Moses* in that Chap-

ter was, not to determine who were the Leading-Men at the Confusion of Tongues, but only to give a Catalogue, or general Account of the Names of the several Persons descended from each of *Noah's* Children, who became famous in their Generations; not designing to pursue more minutely their several Histories: Such Accounts of Families as this is, are frequent in the Old Testament. We meet another of them (a), where *Moses* mentions *Esau's* Family. He gives a Catalogue of their Names, and adds, *These be the Dukes of Edom according to their Habitations in the Land of their Possession* (b); not that these Descendants of *Esau* were thus settled in these Habitations at the Time of *Isaac's* Death, which is the Place where *Moses* inserts his Account of them; for at that Time *Esau* took his Wives, and his Sons, and his Daughters, and went into the Country from the Face of his Brother *Jacob*, and he went and dwelt in *Mount Seir* (c); they lived all together in the Family of *Esau*, during the Term of his Life; when he died, then they might separate, and in time become Dukes and Governors, according to their Families, after their Places, and by their Names, mentioned in this Catalogue; and this probably not all at once, immediately upon *E-*

(a) Gen. xxxvi. (b) Ver. 43. (c) Ver. 6. & 8.

Jau's Death: For it seems most reasonable to imagine, that at his Death they might divide into no greater Number of Families, than he had Children; though afterwards his Grandsons set up each a Family of his own, when they came to separate from their Father's House. And in this manner the Earth was divided by the several Sons of *Noah*, mentioned *Genesis* x. *After their Families, after their Tongues, in their Lands, and after their Nations*: Not that the Persons there mentioned were all at one time Planters of Nations; but only, that there were so many Persons of Figure, descended from the Sons of *Noah*, who, some at one time, and some at another, became Heads of Nations, or had Nations called by their Names by their Descendants; and so, by them *the Nations were divided* (a), i. e. the People were broken into different Nations *on the Earth*; not at once, or immediately upon the Confusion, but at several Times, as their Families encreased and separated, *after the Flood*. And this Account will reconcile what I before observed, That the Dispersion of Mankind happened about the time of the Birth of *Peleg*, with the Fragment in *Eusebius*, which seems to place it thirty Years after: For, according to *Euse-*

(a) *Gen.* x. 32.

bius, they continued (a) building their Tower for Forty Years; but the Birth of *Peleg* was about Ten Years after their beginning it. The Confusion of Language therefore, and the Dispersion of Mankind, were not effected all at once; they began at the Birth of *Peleg*, but were not completed until thirty Years after; some Companies separating and going away one Year, and some another; and thus *Ashur* did not go away at first, but lived some time under *Nimrod* (b).

The Authors that have treated upon this Subject, endeavour to determine, what particular Countries were planted by these Men; and the Substance of what they offer is as follows.

Noah had (c) three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*: The eldest of the three was *Japhet*. For, 1. *Ham*, or *Canaan*, i. e. the Father of *Canaan*, was his youngest Son, for so he is called by *Moses* (d). And *Noah* awoke from his Wine, and knew what his younger Son had done unto him, and he said, Cursed be *Canaan*: i. e. considering the Disrespect which his youngest Son *Ham*, or *Canaan*, had shewn him, he cursed him. 2. *Shem* was *Noah*'s second Son; for *Shem* (e) was an hundred Years old, and begat *Arphaxad*, two

(a) Ἐμμεναν οἰκοδομῆσαι ἐπὶ ἔτη μ. Euseb. in Chron.

(b) Gen. x. 11. (c) Chap. v. Ver. 32. (d) Chap. ix. 24, 25. (e) Chap. xi. 10.

Years after the Flood. Now *Noah* was five (a) hundred Years old at the Birth of his eldest Son; but if *Shem* was no more than an hundred Years old two Years after the Flood, it is evident that *Noah* was five hundred and two Years old at *Shem's* Birth, and consequently that *Shem* was not his eldest Son. 3. It remains therefore that *Japhet* was the eldest Son of *Noah*, and so he is called by *Moses*, *Gen. x. 21.*

Japhet is supposed not to have been present at the Confusion of *Babel*. *Moses* gives no Account of his Life or Death; makes no mention at all of his Name in the History of the Nations that arose from *Babel*: So that it is probable that he lived and died where his Father *Noah* settled after the Flood. The Descendants of *Japhet*, which came to *Shinaar*, and were Heads of Nations, at, or some time after the Dispersion of Mankind, were *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Javan*, *Mesech*, *Tubal*, *Tiras*, *Askanez*, *Riphath*, *Togarmah*, *Elisha*, *Tarshish*, *Kittim*, *Dodanim*. The Countries which they fixed in, were as follows:

Gomer, *Tubal*, *Togarmah*, *Magog*, and *Mesech*, settled in and near the North Parts of *Syria*. The Prophet *Ezekiel*, foretelling the Troubles which foreign Princes should endeavour to bring upon

*Japhets
descendants*

same

(a) *Gen. v. 32.*

the *Israelites*, calls the Nations he speaks of by their ancient original Names, taken from their first Founders or Ancestors: And thus *Gog*, the King of *Magog*, is said (a) to be the chief Prince of *Mesech* and *Tubal*. So that where-ever these Countries were, this, I think, we may conclude, that the Lands of *Mesech*, *Tubal*, and *Magog*, were near to one another; united in time under the Dominion of a Prince, called by the Prophet *Gog*. And as we learn from *Ezekiel*, that these Countries were contiguous; so if we consider that *Hierapolis*, or the present *Aleppo*, was anciently called *Magog*, this will intimate to us the Situation of these Nations. The Name that *Lucian* calls this City by, is its common one, ἱερά πόλις, or, the Sacred City; but he says (b) expressly, that anciently it was called by another Name. And *Pliny* (c) tells what that ancient Name was; the *Syrians*, he says, called it *Magog*. *Maimonides* (d) places *Magog* in *Syria*; and *Bochart* himself, tho' he would willingly plant *Magog* in *Scythia* (e), acknowledges *Hierapolis* to have been named from him. We have therefore Reason to think *Magog* the Country, of which *Aleppo* was chief City, and the Land of *Mesech* and

(a) Ezek. xxxviii. 2.

(b) Lucian. de Deâ Syriâ.

(c) Lib. V. cap. 23.

(d) In Halicoth therumoth c. 1. § 9.

(e) Phaleg. l. 1. c. 2.

of *Tubal* were adjacent to it. In these Parts, therefore, *Tubal*, *Mesech*, and *Magog* fixed, and their Lands were called after their Names. The House of *Togarmah* is in the same (a) Chapter of *Ezekiel* said to be of the North-Quarters. There were two remarkable Powers prophesy'd of, who were to afflict the *Israelites*; and they are described in Scripture by *the Kings of the North*, and *the Kings of the South*: By the Kings of the South, are meant the Kings of *Egypt*; by the Kings of the North, the Kings of *Syria*. *Togarmah* of the North-Quarters therefore is a Country, Part of *Syria*, very probably bordering upon *Magog*, which gives it a Situation very fit for trading in the Fairs of *Tyre*, with Horses and Mules, according to what the Prophet (b) says of the *Togarmians*. *Gomer* and his Bands seem (c) to be join'd by the same Prophet to *Togarmah*. We may therefore suppose his Country to be adjacent.

Askanex planted himself near *Armenia*; for the Prophet *Jeremiah* (d) speaking of the Nations that should be called to the Destruction or taking of *Babylon*, by the *Medes* under *Cyrus*, mentions *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Askanex*. 'Tis probable these three Nations, thus joined together by the

(a) Ezek. xxxviii. 6.

(b) Ezek. xxvii. 14.

(c) Ezek. xxxviii. 6.

(d) Jerem. li. 27.

Prophet, bordered upon one another; and since *Minni* is *Armenia the Less*, called *Aram-minni*; and *Ararat* the Country in which the Mountains of *Ararat*, or *Taurus*, take their Rise, *Askanex* must be some neighbouring and adjacent Nation. 'Tis observable from profane History, that *Cyrus*, before he shut up *Babylon*, in the Siege in which he took it, after the Conquest of *Cræsus* King of *Lydia* (a), by his Captains subdued *Asia Minor*, and with Part of his Army under his own (b) Conduct, reduced the Nations of *Upper Asia*, and having settled them under his Obedience, and very probably enforced his Army by Levies of new Soldiers (c) made amongst them, he entered *Assyria*, and besieged *Babylon*; and this was the calling *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Askanex*, to assist the *Medes* against *Babylon*, which the Prophet speaks of.

Tarshish planted *Cilicia*; for the Prophet *Isaiab* calls a Country of this Name

(a) Xenophon *Cyropæd.* l. 7. Herodot. l. 1.

(b) Herod. l. 1. (c) Bochart in *Phaleg.* lib. 3. c. 9. endeavours to prove *Askanex* to be *Phrygia*, from some particular Levies which *Hystaspes* made there for the Increase of *Cyrus's* Army; but as *Cyrus* made use of these for the Conquest of many other Nations, before he went back to *Babylon*, these Levies cannot properly be said to have been raised for the Siege of that City. It is more probable, that he enforced his Army in all Countries he subdued; and as his last Conquests before he went to *Babylon* were in *Armenia*, and the Parts adjacent, it was these Nations he took with him to subdue *Assyria*.

to join in Lamentation for the Destruction of *Tyre*, (*Isaiab* xxiii.) And the Country which the Prophet thus calls upon, seems to lye over Sea from *Tyre* (a), and to be a frequent Trader to *Tyre* (b), and therefore not vastly distant, and to be a Place of considerable Shipping (c); all which Marks belonged, at the Time of these Descriptions, more evidently to *Cilicia*, than to any other Nation of the World.

Kittim was the Father of the *Macedonians*; for the Destruction of *Tyre*, effected by *Alexander* of *Macedon*, is said to be of *Kittim* (d); and *Alexander* himself is described, *Alexander* the Son of *Philip* — who came out of the Land of *Kittim* (e); and the Navy of *Alexander* is prophesied of and called (f) *Ships that should come from Kittim*; and *Perseus* the King of *Macedon*, who was conquered by the *Romans*, is called, *the King of the Kittims* (g); and the *Macedonian*, or *Greek* Shipping, which brought the *Roman* Embassadors to *Egypt*, are called *the Ships of Kittim* (h). *Bochart* (i) thinks that the

(a) *Isaiab* xxiii. 6. (b) *Ezekiel* xxvii. 12. (c) *Isaiab* xxi. 1. & 14. *And the Heathen Writers represent the Cilicians as the ancient Masters of the Seas. See Strab. l. 14. & Solin. 41.*

(d) *Isaiab* xxiii. 1. (e) 1 *Maccab.* i. 1. (f) *Num.* xxiv. 24. (g) 1 *Maccab.* viii. 5. (h) *Dan.* xi. 30. (i) *Bochart* would render the *Iles* of *Kittim* (*Ezek.* xxvii. 6.) *Iles* of *Italy*, but it is more probably render'd, *Iles* of *Greece*, or *Macedon*, i. e. *Iles* near *Macedon*, in the *Ægean* Sea.

Ships here spoken of were Ships of *Italy*; and from this Text, and another or two, which he evidently mistakes the true Meaning of, he would infer the Land of *Kittim* to be *Italy*: But if we consider the Words of *Daniel* (a), we shall find the Meaning of them to be this; that at the Time appointed, the King of the North, *i. e.* (b) *Antiochus*, should return and come toward the South, *i. e.* towards *Egypt*; but it should not be as the former, or as the latter, *i. e.* his coming should not be successful, as it had once before been, and as it was again afterwards; for the Ships of *Kittim* should come against him; the *Roman* Embassadors in Ships of or from *Macedonia* should come against him, and oblige him to return home without ravaging or seizing upon *Egypt*. And 'tis (c) remarkable, that the Circumstances of *C. Popilius's* Voyage, who was the *Roman* Embassador here spoken of, do give a Reason for calling the Ships he failed in, Ships of or from *Kittim*, or *Macedonia*; for his Voyage from *Rome* was in this manner: He sail'd into the *Ægean* Sea, and designed before his Embassy to have gone to *Macedonia*, where the Consul was then engaged in War with *Perseus*; but the Enemy having some

(a) Dan. xi. 29, 30. (b) See *Dean Prideaux's Connection*.

(c) See *Livy*.

small Vessels cruizing in those Seas, he was induced for his Safety to put in at *Delos*, and sent his Ships with some Message to the Consul in *Macedonia*. He intended at first not to have waited the Return of his Ships, but to have pursued his Embassy, by the Assistance of the *Athenians*, who furnished him with Ships for the Voyage; but before he set Sail, his Ships came back again, and brought News of *Æmilius's* Conquest of *Macedon*; upon this he dismiss'd the *Athenian* Ships, and set Sail towards *Egypt*. And thus the Ships that carried him to the finishing this Embassy, came from *Kittim*, or *Macedonia*.

Elisha is thought to have planted some of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* Sea, for the *Cyclades* are called by his Name, by *Ezekiel* (a). Blue and Purple are said to be brought to *Tyre*, from the Isles of *Elisha*. In After-ages the best Blue and Purple were of the *Tyrian* Dye, but in the earlier Times it was brought to *Tyre* to be sold, from the *Cyclades*; and agreeably hereto, several Authors, both Poets and Prose-Writers, speak of a Dye for Purple found

(a) Ezek. xxvii. 7. Homer Iliad. 4. mentions the *Carians* and *Mæonians* as the ancient Dyers in Purple; and perhaps here the Family of *Elisha* might be first settled. *Caria* and *Mæonia* are two Countries on the Coasts of Asia, near the *Ægean* Sea. The Ancients often called such Countries, Isles, as bordered upon the Sea, tho' they were really part of the Continent, especially if they usually sail'd to them.

in the *Grecian Seas*, and particularly among the *Cyclades* (a).

Javan is thought to have planted *Greece*; the LXX were of this Mind, and constantly translate the *Hebrew Word Javan*; into *Ἑλλάς*, or *Greece*. And the Prophet *Ezekiel* represents the Inhabitants of *Javan* to be considerable Dealers or Traders in Persons of Men (b). And this agrees very remarkably with the Heathen Accounts of *Greece*; for the generality of Writers speak of the most elegant and best Slaves as coming out of the several Countries of *Greece*. *Heliodorus* (c) mentions two *Ionian* Servants sent as Presents to *Theagenes* and *Chariclea*. And in another Place (d) makes *Cybele's* Cup-bearer to be a Lads of *Ionia*. *Ælian* (e) supposes the Cause of *Darius's* making War upon the *Greeks*, to be his Wife *Atossa's* Desire to have some *Grecian* Maidens to attend her. And *Herodotus* reports the same Fact (f), and adds, that she persuaded her Husband to turn his Arms from the *Scythians* upon the *Greeks*, in order to get her some Servants out of some particular Parts of *Greece*, where she heard there were very famous ones. *Claudian* alludes to this Re-

(a) Plin. l. 9. c. 36. Pausan. in Laconicis. id. in Phocicis. Horat. lib. 2. od. 18. Stat. l. 1. Sylv. 2. Juvenal. Satyr. 8. 1. Orat. lib. 4. od. 13. Vitruv. l. 7. c. 13. (b) Ezek. xxvii. 13.
 (c) Heliodor. l. 7. (d) Id. l. 8. (e) Ælian. de Animal. l. 11. c. 27. (f) Herodot. in Thalia.

quest of *Atossa* (a). And *Martial* many (b) times speaks in commendation of the *Greek Slaves*.

Madai was very probably the Father of the *Medes*; for the *Medes* are always called by this Name (c).

Tiras was the Father (d) of the *Thracians*.

Ripath settled near the Borders of *Paphlagonia*.

Where *Dodanim* settled is very uncertain. His Name is also wrote (e) *Rhodanim*. And it is thought he planted *Rhodes*; tho' the Arguments to support this Opinion are very slender.

Shem was the second Son of *Noah*. *Moses* has told us (f) how long he lived, and when he died; so that probably he lived amongst some of these Nations. It is no where said where he lived; but some (g) Writers have imagined him to be *Melchisedec*, the King of *Salem*, to whom *Abraham* paid Tythes, *Gen. xiv. 20.* *Shem* was indeed alive at that time (h), and lived

(a) *Claudian*. lib. 2. in *Eutrop.* (b) *Epig.* l. 4. 66. & l. 7. *Epig.* 79. (c) *Dan.* v. 28. chap. vi. ver. 3, 12, 15. chap. viii. ver. 20. and *Esther* i. 3, 14, 18, 19. chap. x. ver. 2. (d) *Abrah.* *Zacuth.* in lib. *Jachusin* f. 145. *Joseph.* *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 7. *Euseb.* in *Chron.* *Eustath.* in *Hexaem.* & al. (e) 1 *Chron.* i. (f) *Gen.* xi. (g) *Targ. Jonathan* & *Targ. Hierosoly m.* & *Midrās Agada* quam citat *R. Selomo.* & *Cabbalistæ* in *Baalhat-turim.* (h) For *Shem*, who lived to be 600 Years old, lived 13 Years after the Death of *Sarah*, and 'till *Abraham* was 151 Years old.

many Years after; but there is no Proof of his being King of *Salem*. It is not likely he should reign King over the Children of *Ham*. And *Abraham's* Tythes were not paid to *Shem* the Ancestor and Head of *Abraham's* Family, but (according to *Heb. vii. 6.*) to one of a different and distinct Family; to one that was (says the Sacred Writer) ὁ μὴ γενεαλογούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν, not of their Descent or Genealogy. The Sons of *Shem* were *Elam*, *Ashur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud*, *Aram*.

Elam led his Associates into *Persia*, and became the Planter of that Country; and agreeably hereto the *Persians* are constantly called in Scripture (a) *Elamites*. *Elam* could at first people but a small Tract of Ground; but it seems as if he fixed himself near the Place where the Kings of *Persia* afterwards had their Residence; for when the Empire, which began at *Elam*, came to be extended over other Countries, and to take a new Name, and to be divided into many Provinces, the Head-Province retained the Name of *Elam*; thus the Palace of *Susa*, or *Shusan*, was in the Province of *Elam* (b).

Ashur for some time lived under *Nimrod*, in the Land of *Shinaar*; but afterwards removed with his Company into

(a) *Isaiah xxi. 2. Jerem. xxv. 25. Acts ii. 9. & in al. loc.*
 (b) *Dan. viii. 2.*

Assyria, and built in time some Cities there, *Nineveh*, *Reboboth*, *Calah*, and *Resen* (a).

Arphaxad lived at *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, which (according to *St. Stephen* (b), who supposed *Abraham* to live in *Mesopotamia*, before he lived at *Haran*) was near to *Shinar* and *Assyria*; but over the Rivers, so as to be in *Mesopotamia*. *Eber*, the Grandson of *Arphaxad*, had two Sons, *Peleg* and *Jocktan*. *Peleg* was born about the time of the Confusion (c); and when *Jocktan* came to be of Years to head a Company, he led away Part of this Family to seek a new Habitation. *Jocktan* had thirteen Sons (d), *Almodad*, *Sheleph*, *Hazarmevah*, *Jerah*, *Hadoram*, *Uzal*, *Dicklath*, *Obal*, *Abimael*, *Sheba*, *Ophir*, *Havilah*, *Jobab*. These and their Families spread, in time, from Mount *Mesha* to Mount *Sepear*, two Mountains in the East (e). There were Nations in *India*, which took the Names of some of these Sons of *Jocktan*; namely, *Ophir*, whither *Solon* sent for Gold; and *Havilah*, on the Bank of the River *Ganges*; and the *Sabeans* mentioned by *Dionysius* in his *Periegesis*. And some Writers have imagined, that *Sheba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, inhabited *India*, but it is much more pro-

(a) Gen. x. 11, 12.

(b) Acts vii. 2.

(c) Gen. x. 25.

(d) Ver. 26-----29.

(e) Ver. 30.

bable that, as the Sons of *Jocktan* spread from *Mesha* to *Sephar*, so their Descendants might in time; in After-ages, People the Countries from *Sephar*, until they reached to *Ganges*, and spread over into *India*; and the Countries there planted might be called by the Names of the Ancestors of those who planted them; tho' the Persons whose Names they were called by, never lived in them.

The other Branch of *Arphaxad's* Family continued at *Ur* for three Generations. In the Days of *Terab* the Father of *Abraham*, the *Chaldeans* expelled them their Country, because they would not worship their Gods (a). Upon this they removed over *Mesopotamia* to *Haran* (b), and here they continued until *Terab* died; and then *Abraham*, and *Lot*, and all that belonged to them, left the rest of their Brethren at *Haran*, and travelled into *Canaan* (c).

Lud is generally supposed to be the Father of the *Lydians* in *Lesser Asia*.

Aram. The Name *Aram* is constantly in Scripture, the Name of *Syria*; thus *Naaman* the *Syrian* is called the *Aramean* (d); thus the *Syrian* Language is called the *Aramean* (e); and the *Syrians* are called by this Name in all Places of Scripture

(a) Judith v. 8.
(d) 2 Kings v. 20.

(b) Gen. xi. 31.

(c) Gen. xii. 5.

(e) Ezra iv. 7. and Isaiah xxxvi. 11.

where-ever they are mentioned (a). And they were known by this Name to the Ancient Heathen Writers. *Syria*, says *Eusebius* from *Josephus*, was called *Aram*, until in After-ages it took another Name from one *Syrus*. And *Strabo* expressly says, that the People we now call *Syrians*, were anciently called by the *Syrians Aramenians*, and *Arameans*. And agreeably hereto the adjoining Countries, into which the Posterity of *Aram* might spread, took the Name of *Aram*, only with some other additional Name joined to it. Thus *Armenia the Less* came to be called *Aramminni*, or *the little Aram*. *Mesopotamia* was named *Padan-Aram*, or *the Field of Aram*; and sometimes *Aram-Nabaraim*, or *Aram of the Rivers*. And we find *Bethuel* and *Laban* (b), the Sons of *Nabor*, the Descendant of *Arphaxad*, and not of *Aram*, are called *Syrians*, or *Arameans*, from their coming to live in this Country. In what particular Part of *Syria*, *Aram* settled himself, is uncertain; nor have we any Reasons to imagine that his Sons *Hul*, *Mesh*, or *Gether*, ever separated from him. Nor is it certain that the Land of *Uz*, which the Prophet *Jeremiah* (c) makes Part of the Land of *Edom*, and which

(a) See 2 Sam. viii. 5. & x. 6. 1 Kings xx. 20. 2 Kings v. 2. 1 Chron. xix. 10. & in mille 2l. loc.

(b) Gen. xxv. 20.

(c) Lam. iv. 21.

was the Land in which *Job* lived, seated near the *Ismaelites* and *Sabeans* who robbed him, had its Name from *Uz* the Son of *Aram*.

Ham was the youngest Son of *Noah*. It is thought that he was at the Confusion of *Babel*; and that after Mankind was dispersed, he lived in *Canaan*, says *Jurieu* (a), and was King of *Salem*; or, say other Writers, he went into *Egypt*. Both these Opinions are at best uncertain. The Reasons for the Latter, that *Egypt* is often called the Land of *Ham* (b), and that *Ham*, or *Jupiter Ammon*, was there worshipp'd, are not conclusive Arguments that *Ham* himself ever lived there. The Descendants of *Ham* might call the Land of *Egypt*, when they came to dwell in it, after the Name of their Ancestor, in remembrance of him; as the Children of *Terah* called the Country they travelled into, when they left *Ur*, by the Name of *Haran* (c). *Haran* himself died in *Ur* (d) of the *Chaldees*, the Land of his Nativity; and perhaps his being dead occasion'd his Kindred to call the Part of *Mesopotamia* where they settled, the Land of *Haran*, in remembrance of him. In like manner the Descendants of *Ham*, when they came to look back to their Ancestors,

(a) Critical Hist. (b) Pf. cv. 23, 27. Pf. lxxviii. 51, &c.
 (c) Gen. xi. 31. (d) Ibid. ver. 26.

and to pay Honours to the Memory of such of them as had been of old famous in their Generations, might place their great Ancestor *Ham* at the Head of their Deities; tho' he had never lived amongst them. The Sons of *Ham* were *Cush*, *Mizraim*, *Phul*, and *Canaan*.

Cush does not appear to have been a Leader or a Governor of any particular Company. He had so much Respect paid him, as to have a Country call'd by his Name, the Land of *Cush*; but its Situation was where his Son *Nimrod* bore Rule; for the Land of *Cush* was at first within the Compass of the River *Gibon*; for that River, says *Moses* (a), compassed the whole Land of *Cush*. Perhaps somewhere hereabouts *Cush* lived and died (b), honoured by his Sons, who were fond of calling their Countries after his Name; for we find the Name *Cush*, tho' at first confined to a small Tract of Ground, was in time made the Name of several Countries. The Children of *Cush* spread in time into the several Parts of *Arabia*, over the Borders of the Land of *Edom*, into *Arabia Felix*, up to *Midian* and *Egypt*; and we

(a) Gen. ii. 13. (b) According to the Persian and Arabian Traditions, *Cush* lived at *Erac*, one of his Son *Nimrod's* Cities. *Cush* (is est *Cutha*) fuit Rex Territorii *Babel* & residebat in *Erac*. *Tabari*. in cap. de morte *Saræ*. apud *Hyde* de *Rel. vet. Pers.* p. 40.

find Instances in Scripture of all these Countries being called by the Name of the Land of *Cush*.

I may here take Notice of a very gross Mistake, which runs thro' our *English* Translation of the Bible. We constantly render the Land of *Cush*, the Land of *Ethiopia*; but there is not any one Place in Scripture, where the Land of *Cush* should be so rendered. By the Land of *Cush* is always meant some Part of *Arabia*; for there are some Texts which cannot possibly have any Meaning, if we render *Cush*, *Ethiopia*: But the Sense of all is clear and easy, if we translate it *Arabia*. Thus for Instance, *Ezekiel* (a) prophesying of a Desolation, which God would bring upon all *Egypt*, says, that it should be utterly waste and desolate, *from the Tower of Syene even unto the Border of Cush*. Now the Tower of *Syene* stood upon the Borders of *Egypt*, next to *Ethiopia*; *Cush*, therefore, must be the opposite Country on the other Side of *Egypt*, for this only can make the Prophet intelligible, who meant from one Side of *Egypt* to the other. *Syene* and *Ethiopia* join, and are contiguous, and therefore, *from Syene to Ethiopia*, are Words of no Meaning, or at most can be no Description of *Egypt*;

(a) Ezek. xxix. 10.

but must be an evident Blunder and Mistake of our Translators (a). And as this particular Passage does clearly evidence *Arabia* to be the Land of *Cush*, so all other Places accord very well to this Interpretation. We are told (b) that the *Arabians* near the *Cushites* join'd with the *Philistins* against *Jehoram*. Now if these *Cushites* are the *Ethiopians*, *Ethiopia* being situate on the other Side of *Egypt*, no *Arabians* could possibly live near them. The *Cushites* therefore here spoken of, are the Inhabitants of *Arabia-Felix*, where *Dedan* and *Sheba*, Descendants of *Cush*, fixed themselves; and the *Arabians* bordering upon them, who joined with the *Philistins*, were the *Edomites* who had revolted lately from *Jehoram*, and who lay between the *Philistins* and these *Cushites*. So again, when *Sennacherib* King of *Assyria* was laying Siege to *Libnah*, upon hearing that *Tirbakah* a King of *Cush* (c) came out against him, he sent a threatening Message to *Hezekiah*, and prepared to meet this new Enemy. Our Translation

(a) A very learned Writer would correct this Mistake in the following manner. The Hebrew Word *Migdol* (he says) which is translated *Tower*, is the Name of the City *Magdolan*, which was at the Entrance of *Egypt* from *Palestine*; and *Siene* was at the other End and upon the Borders of *Ethiopia*; but this Correction, I think, cannot be admitted, for the Hebrew Words, are not מִגְדוֹל עַד-סִינַי from *Migdol* to *Sevneh*--- but מִגְדוֹל עַד-סִינַי וְעַד גְּבוּל כּוּשׁ i. e. from *Migdol* *Sevneh*, or of *Sevneh*, even to the Border of *Cush*. (b) 2 Chron. ii. 16. (c) 2 Kings x.x. 9.

makes *Tirbakab* a King of *Ethiopia*; but how unlikely is it, that a King living on the other Side of *Egypt* should cross all that Country, and march an Army four or five hundred Miles to assist the *Jews*? the Seat of the War lies too distant for the King of *Ethiopia* to be so suddenly engaged in it. Some neighbouring Prince, whose Country bordered upon the Nations attack'd by *Sennacherib*, might think it adviseable to raise an Army on his Back, to check his Conquests, lest himself in time should suffer from him: And such a neighbouring Prince was this King of *Cush*, a King of *Arabia*, whose Country lay near to *Ezion-Geber*, and not far from the Borders of *Judæa*. The learned Dr. *Prideaux* (a) makes *Tirbakab* an *Ethiopian*, Kinsman to the King of *Egypt*; and to make it probable that the *Ethiopian* might be concerned in the War, he imagines *Tirbakab's* Army to march against *Sennacherib*, when he was besieging *Pelusium*, a City of *Egypt*. But this seems contrary to the History (b). *Sennacherib* had been warring against *Lachish*, and was at *Libnah* when the Rumour of *Tirbakab's* Expedition reach'd him. *Sennacherib's* War with *Egypt* was over before this, and he had done to *Egypt* all that his Heart could desire; had over-run the

(a) Con. Vol. I. Book I. (b) See 2 Kings xix.

Country, carried away Captive all the Inhabitants of *No-Amon*, a great and strong City of *Egypt*, according to what the Prophet *Isaiab* had foretold (a), and the Prophet *Nabum* observed (b) to the *Ninevites*. That *Sennacherib's* Conquest of *Egypt* was over before he came to *Lachish* and *Libnah*, is evident, if we consider that after this he undertook no Expedition. Upon hearing the Rumour of *Tirbakah*, he decamped; and soon after God sent the Blast upon him (c), and destroy'd his Army; and then he was obliged to return home to his own Land, and was there, some time after, murdered. And agreeably hereto, *Rabshekah* represents the King of *Egypt* but as a bruised Reed (d); but a Reed in his greatest Strength, easy to be broken by the King of *Assyria*; and a bruised Reed, already brought into a very distressed Condition, by the Victories his Master had obtained over him. *Josephus* (e) mentions this *Tirbakah* by the Name of *Tharsices*, and supposes him to assist *Egypt*, and not the *Jews*, and to march his Army when *Sennacherib* was engaged at *Pelusium*: But this is one Instance where *Josephus* did not copy carefully from the Sacred Pages. He was mis-led in this Particular by *Herodotus*, whom he quotes in

(a) *Isaiab* xx. 4. (b) *Nahum* iii. 8. (c) 2 *Kings* xix. 7.
 (d) 2 *Kings* xviii. 21. (e) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 10. c. 1.

his Relation of this Story; however the Description which *Josephus* gives of *Tirbakab's* March thro' the Defart of *Arabia*, into the Territories of the King of *Affyria*, shews evidently that he was a King of *Arabia*, and not of *Ethiopia*. The King of *Cush*, therefore, was a King of *Arabia*. I may add further, that *Egypt* is described to lye beyond the Rivers of *Cush* (a); now if *Cush* signifies *Ethiopia*, *Ethiopia* might possibly be said to lye beyond the Rivers of *Egypt*, but *Egypt* cannot possibly be described to lye beyond the Rivers of *Ethiopia*: But *Cush* here signifies *Arabia*; and the Rivers of *Arabia*, beyond which *Egypt* is said to lye, are that which runs into the Lake *Sirbonis*, commonly called the River of *Egypt*; and the River *Sibor*, mentioned *Josh. xiii. 3.* Again (b), we are told that *Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses, because of the Cushite Woman whom he had married, for he had married a Cushite Woman.* We must not here render *Cushite*, *Ethiopian*, as our *English* Translators do; for *Moses* never married one of that Country; rather the *Cushite* Woman was *Zipporah* the *Arabian*, the Daughter of *Jethro* the Priest of *Midian* (c). I might bring several other Passages of Scripture, to prove the Land of *Cush* to be some or other of the Parts

(a) *Isaiah xviii. 1.*(b) *Numb. xii. 1.*(c) *Exod. ii. 21.*

of *Arabia*, where the Descendants of *Cush* settled. In the later Writings of the Scriptures, the Name of *Cush* is given only to the Parts remote and distant from *Babylon*; the Reason whereof was probably this: When the *Babylonian* Empire came to flourish, the Parts near to *Babylon* acquired new Names, and lost their old ones in the great Turns and Revolutions of the Empire; but the Changes of Names and Places near *Babylon*, not affecting the Countries that lay at a Distance, the Prophets in After-ages might properly enough give these the Name of *Cush*, long after the Places, near to which *Cush* first settled, had lost all Name and Remembrance of him.

The Sons of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabtecha*, *Sheba*, *Dedan*, and *Nimrod*.

Nimrod reign'd King at *Babel*, and built round him several Cities, *Erec*, *Achad*, and *Chalne* (a).

Havilah lived within the Branch of the River *Pison*, which ran out of the *Euphrates* into the Bay of *Persia*; for the Country of the *Ishmaelites*, which extended it self from *Egypt* in a direct Line towards *Babylonia*, or *Shinaar*, is described to lye from *Shur* which is before *Egypt*, to *Havilah* (b).

(a) Gen. x. 10.

(b) Chap. xxv. 10.

Seba, Sabta, Raamah, Sabtecha, and their Descendants and Associates, peopled *Arabia Felix*. There are but slender Proofs of the particular Places where *Seba, Sabta*, and *Sabtecha* first settled. *Pliny* says, the *Sabæans*, Inhabitants of *Arabia*, famous for their Spicery, are a Number of Nations which reach from Sea to Sea, *i. e.* from the *Persian Gulph* to the *Red-Sea*. It is probable they entered the Country near *Havilah* and *Shinaar*, and their first little Companies took different Paths in it; and whilst they were Infant Nations, they might live distinct and separate from one another; Time and Increase made them sufficient to fill and replenish it, and so to mingle with and unite to one another.

Raama, and his two Sons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, peopled the Parts adjacent to the *Red-Sea*. *Sheba* lived on the Borders of the Land of *Midian*; and hence it happen'd, that in After-ages a Queen of this Country, hearing of the Renown of King *Solomon*, probably from his famous Shipping at *Ezion-Geber*, on the Borders of her Kingdom, went to visit him (*a*). *Raama* was near to *Sheba*, for they are mentioned as joint Traders to *Tyre* in Spicery, the noted Product of those Countries (*b*). *Dedan* fixt on the Borders of the Land

(*a*) 1 Kings x.

(*b*) Ezek. xxvii. 22.

of *Edom*; for *Ezekiel* prophesying of the Land of *Edom*, and the Parts adjacent, joins *Dedan* to it (a).

Mizraim was second Son of *Ham*. His Descendants were *Ludim*, *Ananim*, *Lehabim*, *Naphtubim*, *Pathrusim*, *Caslubim*, *Philistim*, *Caphtorim*.

Mizraim became King of *Egypt*, which after his Death was divided into three Kingdoms, by three of his Sons. His Sons Names that settled here were *Ananim*, who was King of *Tanis*, or *Lower Egypt*, called afterwards *Delta*. *Naphtubim*, who was King of *Naph*, *Memphis*, or *Upper Egypt*; and *Pathrusim*, who set up the Kingdom of *Pathros*, or *Thebes*, in *Thebais*.

Ludim and *Lehabim* peopled *Libya*. The Prophet *Ezekiel* (b) speaking of the *Libyans*, whom he calls by their original Name *Lud*, calls them a mingled People; perhaps hinting their Rise from two Originals; *Libya* seems rather derived from *Lehabim*, than *Ludim*, but we rarely find them called otherwise than *Lud*; they are, I think, once named from *Lehabim*. 2 Chron. xii. 1. People came out of *Egypt*, the *Lubims*.

Caslubim, another Son of *Mizraim*, fixed himself at *Casbiotis*, in the Entrance of *Egypt* from *Palestine*. He had two Sons,

(a) Ezek. xxv. 13.

(b) Chap. xxx. 5.

Philistim, and *Caphtorim*. *Caphtorim* succeeded him at *Cashiotis*. *Philistim* planted the Country of the *Philistins*, between the Borders of *Canaan* and the *Mediterranean-Sea*. *Cashiotis* was called *Caphtor*, from *Caphtorim*, the second Prince of it: And the *Philistins* are said to have been of *Caphtor* (a), because the Place of their Parent *Cashubim* was so called.

Pbut was the third Son of *Ham*. He was, I believe, planted somewhere in *Arabia*, near to *Cush*, not far from *Shinaar*, probably in the Land of *Havilah*; for the Prophet *Ezekiel*, as the Northern Enemies of the *Jews* were put together, so also joins those that were to come from *Babylon* (b), and makes them to be *Persia*, *Cush*, and *Pbut*. Some Writers have imagined *Pbut* to have planted *Mauritania*, but how then could he be Neighbour to *Cush* or *Persia*? The Prophet *Jeremiah*, speaking of some Nations that should overrun *Egypt*, calls them *Cush*, *Lud*, and *Pbut* (c). Now the Nations which fulfilled this Prophecy, were 1. *Nebuchanezzar* with his Army of *Cushites* and Descendants of *Pbut*, who were both then subject to the *Babylonian* Empire, greatly ravaged and laid waste the Land; and when he had executed his Mind, then (d)

(a) Amos ix. 7. (b) Ezek. xxxviii. 5. (c) Jerem. xlvi. 9.
 (d) Prideaux Connect. Book 2. Herodot. l. 2.

Apries with some Forces out of *Libya*, killed the King of *Egypt*, and finished the Desolation. Agreeably therefore to what was before said, the *Babylonians* are called *Cush* and *Phut*, the Descendants of *Cush* and *Phut* being Part of their Army, and *Apries* and his *Libyan* Army are the Men of *Lud*.

The fourth Son of *Ham* was *Canaan*. His Sons were *Sidon*, *Heth*, *Jebusi*, *Emori*, *Girgasi*, *Hivi*, *Arki*, *Sini*, *Arvadi*, *Zemari*, *Hamathi*: These peopled the Land of *Canaan* (a).

Sidon fix'd in *Phœnicia*, one of whose chief Towns was called by his Name.

Arvad was Neighbour to *Sidon* (b).

Heth lived near *Gerar* towards *Egypt* (c).

Where the other Sons of *Canaan* settled in this Country, cannot be determined with any Certainty and Exactness; only we must place them somewhere between *Sidon*, and *Gerar*, and *Admah*, and *Zeboim*, and *Lashah*, for these Places were the Boundaries of their Land, according to *Moses* (d).

This is the Substance of what is offered by the best Writers, about the first Settlements after the Dispersion of Mankind. We must not pretend to affirm it in every Tittle true; but the Reader will

(a) Gen. x. 18. (b) Ezek. xxvii. 8. (c) 2 Kings vii. 6.
(d) Gen. x. 19.

observe it to be countenanced by Arguments more favourable than any one, that never considered the Subject, would expect to meet with for a Fact, that happen'd so long ago, and but imperfectly described by the earliest Writers. *Josephus* disperses these Men and their Families all over the World, into Spain and Italy; but we cannot possibly conceive Mankind so numerous within 130 Years after the Flood, as to send out Colonies enough to spread into Nations so distant from the Place they dispersed from. We see by all the mention we have of the Names of any of these Men in the Books of the Old Testament, that they appear to have been first seated nearer to the Land of *Shinaar*; and the utmost that can be proved from the Arguments which some Writers offer in favour of *Josephus's* remote Plantations, will amount to no more than this, that the Companies which at the first dispersing settled nearer home, did afterwards increase, and in time send forth Colonies, which planted the more remote Countries. I believe if an exact View was taken of all the several Schemes offered upon this Subject, all of them, that are supported with any Shew of Argument, might be reduced to a pretty good Agreement with one another. For tho' there is not a full and absolute Proof of any one Scheme; yet all that can be offered in this Matter

has

has the same Tendency to prove this, that the several Parts of the World, except those only where we have supposed *Noah* to settle, and the Plantations proceeding from them, were inhabited, and the Inhabitants of them cultivated the Use of Letters, and other Arts, sooner or later, in such a Proportion of Time as answers to their Distance from the Place which *Moses* calls the Land of *Schinar*. On the other hand, there are no broken Stories, nor Pieces of Antiquity, in all the Monuments of Learning, Sacred or Prophane, that either are, or are said ever to have been in the World, which do make it seem probable, that Mankind were first seated in any other Place.

The Account of the Division of the Earth, given us in the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, is founded upon the Supposition that *Noah*, some time before his Death, sat down by Divine Appointment, and parted the World amongst his three Children, ordering what Regions the Descendants of each of them should inhabit; but this being a mere Fiction, no great Regard can be had to it. *Noah* never came into these Parts of the World at all, as has been observed already from several very probable Arguments for his settling in a far distant Place, and will be further evidenced hereafter, when I

come to consider the Maxims and Polity upon which Kingdoms were founded in the Eastern Parts, very different from those which the Travellers from *Shinaar* adhered to, in their Appointments of Kings and Governors.





of Joctan



M. Sephar

M and





A MAP
of the Several Countries
peopled or planted
by the Descendants
of Noah
who dispersed from
the Land of
Shinaar
at or soon after the
Confusion of Tongues.



The SACRED and PROPHANE

H I S T O R Y

Of the WORLD Connected.

B O O K IV.



AFTER the Separation of Mankind, *Nimrod* became the Head of those which remained at *Shinar*. *Nimrod was a (a) mighty Hunter before the Lord.* He

taught the People to make up Companies, and to chase and kill the wild Beasts abounding in those Parts; and from his gathering them together, and exercising them in Bands for this Purpose, he by degrees led them on to a social Defence of

(a) Gen. x. 9.

one another, and laid the (a) Foundations of his Authority and Dominion. His Kingdom began at *Babel*; and in time, as his People multiplied, he extended it further: Perhaps he found it inconvenient to have too large a Number dwell together; a populous City would not be so easily influenced, as a small Neighbourhood; for we cannot imagine the first Kings to be able, either to make, or execute Laws with that Strictness and Rigour, which is necessary in a Body of Men so large, as to afford numerous Offenders; and for this Reason it seems to have been a prudent Institution of *Nimrod*, when his City *Babel* began to be too populous to be regulated by his Inspection, and governed by his Influence, to lay the Foundations of other Cities, *Erec*, *Achad*, and *Calne*. By this means he disposed of Numbers of his People, and put them under the Directions of such proper Deputies as he might appoint over them; or perhaps, they, with (b) his Consent, might chuse for themselves. And thus by Steps and Degrees, he brought their Minds to a Sense of Government; until the Use of it came to be experienc'd, and thereby the Force and Power of Laws

(a) In this manner the Persians fitted their Kings for War, and for Government. by Hunting. See Xenoph. *Cyropæd.* l. 1.

(b) Cush, the Father of Nimrod, is thought to have been Governor at Erec. Hyde. *Rel. vet. Pers.* p. 40.

settled and confirmed. Many of the Fathers, and some later Writers after them, represent *Nimrod* as a most wicked and insolent Tyrant; and St. *Austin* in particular says he was a mighty Hunter; not as we translate it, *before*, or *in the Presence* of the Lord, but *against* the Lord. It is very likely that *Nimrod* exercised his Companions into some sort of Skill in War; and having a mind to set down with them at *Shinaar*, he obliged his Brethren that would not come into his Society, to remove, and provide for themselves other Habitations; and this might cause them to go away with ill Notions of him, and occasion them to spread amongst their Descendants the worst Accounts they could give of his Hunting, by which they were thus chased from their first Dwellings. However, we do not find he waged any Wars to enlarge his Empire. *Ninus*, according to *Justin*, was the first that used an Army with this View. *Nimrod's* Government was extended no farther than the Necessities or Conveniences of his People required. His Country was probably no more than the Province of *Babylonia*. He began his Reign *Anno Mundi* 1757, and 'tis thought he reign'd about 148 Years, and so died *Anno Mundi* 1905.

Some time in *Nimrod's* Reign (a), *Ashur*, one of the Descendants of *Shem*, led a Number of Men from *Babel*; they travelled under his Conduct up the *Tigris*, and settled in *Affyria*, and laid the first Foundations of *Nineveh*. *Ashur* governed them as *Nimrod* did the *Babylonians*, and as they encreased, dispersed them in the Country, and set them to build some little adjacent Cities, *Reboboth*, *Resen*, and *Calab*.

Belus succeeded *Nimrod*, and was the second King of *Babylon*. We are not told of what Family he was; and perhaps he was not much a-kin to his Predecessor. *Nimrod* himself was no way by Birth intitled to be King of *Shinaar*; nor have we any reason to imagine, that Mankind, when they first formed larger Societies than those of Families, were directed by any thing in the Choice of their Kings, but the Expectation of some publick Good to be promoted by them. The first Civil Polity was that of Kings, according to *Justin* (b); and the Persons advanced to that Dignity, were promoted to it not

(a) Gen. x. 11. Joseph. (b) Justin. l. 1. c. 1. and Diodorus Siculus was of the same Opinion: his Words are, Διὸ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν παραδίδοσθαι τὰς βασιλείας μὴ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τῶν ἀρξάντων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλείοσι καὶ μέγιστα τὸ πλεῖστον εὐεργετήσιν, εἴτε προσκαλημένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ, εἴτε καὶ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐν ταῖς ἰσχυραῖς ἀναρχαῖς ἕτω παρηληθῶτων. Diodor. Sic. Hist. l. 1. p. 28.

by a giddy Ambition, but were chosen for their known Abilities of Wisdom and Virtue. *Nimrod* had convinced the People of the Advantages of forming a larger Society, than they had before ever thought of; and so the People under a Sense of the Weight and Wisdom of what he proposed, chose him, tho' a young Man in comparison of many alive at that time, to Rule and Govern them, for the Ends which he proposed to them; and when he died, *Belus* appeared to be the most proper Person, and for that Reason was appointed to succeed him. *Belus* was a Prince of Study; the Inventor of the *Chaldæan* Astronomy, says *Pliny* (a). He is thought to have spent his Time in cultivating his Country, and improving his People. He reigned Sixty Years, and died A. M. 1965.

Asbur King of *Nineveh* dying much about this Time, *Ninus* became the second King of *Assyria*. *Ninus* was of an enterprizing and ambitious Spirit. He began the first Wars, and broke the (b) Peace of the World. *Babylonia* was an adjacent Country, too near him to lye out of his View and Desires. He coveted to enlarge his Empire; and having prepared his People for it; he easily over-ran his Neighbours, who were employed in cultivating

(a) *Plin. Lib. 6. c. 26.*

(b) *Justin. l. 1. c. 1.*

other Arts, but were inexpert at War: He in a little Time subdued the *Babylonians*. *Diodorus Siculus* (a) makes particular mention of this Conquest of *Babylonia*, in Words very agreeable to the Circumstances of these Times. “ *Ninus* (says “ he) the King of *Assyria*, assisted by a “ King of the *Arabians*, invaded the *Ba-
“ bylonians* with a powerful Army. The “ present *Babylon* was not then built, but “ there were in the Country of *Babylonia* “ other Cities of Figure. He easily “ reduced these his Neighbours, who had “ no great Skill in War, and laid them “ under Tribute”. After *Ninus* had subdued the *Babylonians*, he began to think of conquering other Nations; and in a few Years over-ran many of the Infant States of *Asia*; and so by uniting Kingdom to Kingdom, he laid the Foundations of the *Assyrian* Empire. He was for ever restless and aspiring; the subduing one People led him on to attempt another, and the Passions of Men being then of the same sort they now are, every new Victory carried him still forwards, without End, ’till he died. His last Attempt was upon *Oxyartes*, or *Zoroastres* King of *Bactria*. Here he met a more powerful Resistance than he had before experienc’d. After several fruitless Attempts upon the

(a) *Diodorus Siculus* l. 2.

chief City of *Bactria*, he at last conquered it, by the Contrivance and Conduct of *Semiramis*, a Woman, Wife of *Menon* a Captain in his Army. The Spirit and Bravery of *Semiramis* so charmed him, that he fell in Love with her, and forced her Husband to consent to his having her for his Wife, offering him in lieu of *Semiramis* his own Daughter. *Ninus* had a Son by *Semiramis*, named *Ninyas*; and after a Reign of two and fifty Years, died *A. M.* 2017.

When *Ninus* was dead, *Semiramis* expressed in her Actions such a Conduct, as made her appear the fittest Person to command the new but large Empire. Her Son was but a *minor*, and during the latter Part of *Ninus's* Life, she had had so great a Share in the Administration, and always acquitted her self to the publick Satisfaction, that (a) there seems no need of the Contrivance of personating her Son, to obtain her the Empire. Her Advancement to it was easy and natural. When she took upon her to be Queen, the publick Affairs were but in the Hands into which *Ninus* when alive used generally to put them; and 'tis not likely that the People

(a) Justin, from Trogus Pompeius, supposes her to have made use of this Stratagem; but Diodorus Siculus, with more Probability, ascribes her Advancement to her Conduct, Bravery, and Success in her Undertakings.

should

should be uneasy at her governing, who had for several Years together, by a Series of Actions, gain'd herself a great Credit and Ascendant over them; especially if we consider, that when she took up the Sovereignty, she still pressed forward in a Course of Action, which continually exceeded the Expectations of her People, and left no room for any to be willing to dispute her Authority. Her first Care was to settle and establish her Empire. She removed her Court from *Nineveh* to *Babylon*, and added much to that City; encompassed it with a Wall, and built several publick and magnificent Buildings in it. And after she had finished the Seat of her Empire, and settled all the neighbouring Kingdoms under her Authority, she raised an Army, and attempted to conquer *India*; but here again, as *Ninus* had before experienced, she found these Eastern Countries able to oppose her. After a long and a dangerous War, tired out with Defeats, she was obliged with a small Remainder of her Forces to return home. Some Authors report her to have been killed on the Banks of *Indus*; but if she was not, her fruitless Attempts there so consumed her Forces, and impaired her Credit, that soon after she came home, she found her self out of Repute with her People, and so resigned her Crown and Au-

Authority to her Son (*a*), and soon after died. Thus lived and died the famous *Semiramis*, an early Instance of what seems very natural, that an ambitious, but defeated Prince, should grow sick of Empire. *Charles* the Fifth, Emperor of *Germany*, resigned his Dominions in much the same manner, and grew out of Love with the Pomp and Greatness of the World, when his Fortune turned, his Designs were blasted, and he could not command his Triumphs to wait on him any longer. *Justin* has accused *Semiramis* of Lewdness and Immodesty; and *Diodorus Siculus* is not favourable to her Character, tho' he does not charge her with the same Particulars as *Justin* does. It is not possible for us to determine whether she was guilty or innocent; however we may observe this, that whilst her Enterprizes were crown'd with Fortune and Success, she maintain'd herself in great Credit and Glory with her People; but she lived to find a Character so supported, is at fatal Uncertainties; an unhappy Turn of Affairs may quickly blast it, and make it difficult to go down with Credit to the Grave. *Semiramis* resign'd her Empire after she had reign'd Forty two Years, *A. M.* 2059.

Ninyas was the next King of the Empire (*b*) of *Affyria*. He began his Reign

(*a*) *Diodorus Siculus Lib. 2.* (*b*) *Justin. Diodorus Siculus.*
full

full of a Sense of the Errors of his Mother's Administration, and engaged in none of the Wars and dangerous Expeditions, with which *Semiramis* seems to have tired out her People. Most Writers represent him as a feeble and effeminate Prince; but perhaps all these Accounts of him arose from the Disposition there is in Writers, to think a turbulent and warlike Reign, if victorious, a glorious one, and to overlook an Administration employed in the silent, but more happy Arts of Peace and good Government. *Ninyas* made no Wars, nor used any Endeavours to enlarge his Empire; but he took a due Care to regulate and (a) settle upon a good Foundation the extensive Dominions which his Parents had left him, and by a wise Contrivance of Annual Deputies over his Provinces, he prevented the many Revolts of distant Countries, which might otherwise have happened. He is said to have begun that State which the Eastern Kings improved afterwards; was of difficult Access, in order to raise himself a Veneration from his Subjects. We do not find but he had an happy Reign. He transmitted his Empire to his Successors, so well ordered and constituted, as to last in the Hands of a Series of Kings of no extraordinary Fame, above a thousand Years. This I take to

(a) Diodorus Siculus.

be the History of the *Babylonian* or *Assyrian* Empire, for about three hundred Years. It may be proper, before I proceed further, to make some Remarks upon the Affairs of the Time we have gone over. And,

1. Let us consider and settle the Chronology. *Nimrod*, we say, began his Reign *A. M.* 1757. *i. e.* an hundred and one Years after the Flood, at the Birth of *Peleg*, the Time at which the Men of *Shinaar* were first separated. At that Time *Nimrod* began to be a mighty one in the Earth (*a*), and the beginning of his Kingdom was *Babel* (*b*). It is probable that he was not forthwith made a King; he might raise himself by Steps, and in Time: And if we could say how long he might be forming the People, before he could set up his Authority, and rule them; perhaps we might begin his Reign a few Years later: But however that be, we are in no great Mistake in dating it from the first Confusion of Tongues, for then he began to be a mighty one. The Foundations of his Sovereignty were then laid, which he proceeded to build up and establish as fast as he could, and from this Time therefore we date the Rise of his Kingdom. *Nimrod* at this time could be but a young Man, in comparison of ma-

(*a*) *Gen.* x. 8. (*b*) *Ver.* 10.

ny others then alive; for suppose his Father *Cush*, the Son of *Ham*, was born as early as *Arphaxad*, the Son of *Shem* (a), two Years after the Flood; and that *Nimrod*, who seems to be the sixth Son of *Cush*, was born when his Father *Cush* was about thirty eight Years old, *Nimrod* would, according to this Account, be about the Age of Sixty one Years; old enough indeed to have many Sons, and perhaps a Grandson, but not advanced enough in Years to be the Father of a Nation of People, or to have a vast Number of Persons descending from him. He could not have any Paternal Right to be a King, nor claim it fairly as due to the Ripeness of his Years, and the Seniority of his Age. But to return to the settling the Chronology of his Reign. He began it at *Babel*, *A. M.* 1757. But why do we suppose that he reign'd 148 Years, and no more? To this I answer, His Reign may easily be allowed to be so long; for if he began to reign at the Age of Sixty-one, and lived 148 Years after, we shall extend his Life to but 209 Years, and the Sons of *Shem* his Contemporaries lived much longer: So that the real Difficulty will be to give a Reason for our ending his Reign *A. M.* 1905, not supposing it to be longer. But to this I think

(a) Gen. xi. 10.

we are determined by the Reigns of his Successors *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Eusebius* has placed the Birth of *Abraham* in the Forty-third Year of *Ninus*, and *Belus's* Reign is commonly computed to be Sixty Years; so that 'tis evident, that the Space of Time between the Death of *Nimrod* and the Birth of *Abraham* is 103 Years; and since it will appear hereafter very clearly, by the *Hebrew Chronology*, that *Abraham* was born *A. M.* 2008, the 103 Years belonging to the Reigns of *Belus* and *Ninus*, which are the Space of Time between the Death of *Nimrod*, and the Birth of *Abraham*, will carry us back to *A. M.* 1905, and fix the Death of *Nimrod*, as we do, in that Year. I might observe, that the beginning of *Nimrod's* Reign in this Year, agrees perfectly well with the Account that was afterwards given of some Astronomical Observations made at *Babylon*. When *Alexander the Great* took Possession of that City, *Callisthenes* the Philosopher, who (a) accompanied him, upon searching into the Treasures of the *Babylonian Learning*, found that the *Chaldeans* had a Series of Astronomical Observations for 1903 Years backward from that Time. The Year in which *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, was (b) *A. M.* 3674; from which,

(a) *Simplicius de cœlo* l. 2. com. 46. p. 123. (b) *Archbishop Usher's Annals.*

if we trace upwards 1903 Years, we shall be brought back to *A. M.* 1771. So that in this Year began the Astronomy of the *Chaldeans*, i. e. fourteen Years after the first Beginning of *Nimrod's* Reign; and 'tis very likely that so many Years must be spent before the Hurry arising from the first Confusion of Tongues could be over, before we can conceive a Settlement of the People, or the new Kingdom could be brought into a State quiet and composed enough for the Culture of Arts and Sciences to appear, and draw the publick Attention to them.

But, 2. 'Tis thought by many Persons that *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were all but one Person, and that the First Year of *Ninus* was the First Year of this Empire, or at least that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were the same Man, and that there was but one King before *Ninus*, namely *Belus*. To this I answer; The beginning of the *Assyrian* Empire is very justly computed from the Reign of *Ninus*, for he was King of *Nineveh*, and was the first that attempted to enlarge his Dominions. The Kingdom was inconsiderable when he first began his Reign, but his Conquests soon enlarged it, and from small Beginnings laid the Foundations of a mighty Empire; but then *Ninus* cannot possibly be as ancient as *Nimrod*, for all Authors agree, that the Continuance of this Empire from its Rise

to *Sardanapalus*, was no more than MCCC Years. The Death of *Sardanapalus* happened *A. M.* 3257, from which Year if we reckon backward 1300 Years, we shall come back to *A. M.* 1957, the Year in which I have placed the Beginning of *Ninus's* Reign; but then this Year falling 200 Years later than the Confusion of Mankind, at which Time *Nimrod began to be a mighty one*, *Nimrod* and *Ninus* cannot possibly be the same Person.

That the Empire of the *Affyrians* continued no more than 1300 Years from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*, is the unanimous Opinion of all the ancient Writers. *Castor Rhodius* makes it not quite so much, he computed it, as *Syncellus* informs us, but (a) 1280; but none of them make it more; for the two Passages of *Diodorus Siculus*, in one of which (b) the Continuance of this Empire is supposed to be 1360 Years, and in the other above 1400, are both esteemed by the Learned to have been corrupted; the former is twice quoted by *Syncellus*, not 1360, but somewhat above 1300, *i. e.* according to *Agathias* (c), 1306 Years, for so he cites this Passage; and the other Passage contradicts *Eusebius* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and both of them quoted *Diodorus*, and thought him

(a) *Syncell.* p. 163. (b) *Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 77. & p. 81.*
 Edit. Rhodoman. (c) *Lib. 2. p. 63.*

to know of no other Number of Years for the Continuance of this Empire than the 1300 (a).

As to *Belus's* being the same Person with *Nimrod*, there are no good Authors, that I know of, that do directly make them so. *Nimrod* is indeed no where mentioned but in Scripture, or in Writers that have copied from the Sacred Pages; but still all the Writers that have mentioned *Belus*, assigning to his Reign but about 60 Years, he must begin his Reign *A. M.* 1905, and so could not be *Nimrod*, who began to be a mighty one near a Century and half before this Time, namely, at the Dispersion of Mankind, *A. M.* 1757. *Belus*, reigning but 60 Years, must have been an old Man when he was advanced to the Throne. He might be of equal Years, nay older than *Nimrod* himself, live 60 Years after *Nimrod's* Decease, and yet not live to above the Age of 270 Years, an Age which his Contemporaries in the Family of *Arphaxad* far exceeded. I should therefore imagine *Belus* to have been of much riper Years and a greater Age than *Nimrod* himself. The enterprizing Spirit of *Nimrod*, and the

(a) Eusebius seems by his own Computations to have followed Castor's Opinion, for he computes from the first Year of Ninus, to the last of Sardanapalus, but 1240 Years; but he quotes Diodorus asserting it to be 1300 Years, Chron. p. 32.

Heat of the Times, might put the unsettled Affairs of this Part of Mankind at first into the Hands of a young Man, who did very evidently lead them into Schemes effectually conducing to the Publick Good; but when he happen'd to be taken off, whom should they next look to for Counfel and Direction, but to some venerable Person of Authority, and Years, and Wisdom? If *Belus* was the Student which *Pliny* supposes him, if he first invented the *Chaldean* Astronomy, it is observable that he had advanced his Studies to some degree of Perfection, in the early Years of *Nimrod's* Reign; for the Observations, as we said, began *A. M.* 1771. Chronology was very imperfect in these Days; for the civil or computed Year consisting of but 360 Days, and that being almost five Days and a Quarter less than the Solar Year, the Seasons did not return at the Times, and Months, and Days of the Month on which they were expected; for every Year being five Days and a Quarter longer than the Computations in use had calculated, it is plain, that the Seasons of the Year must be carried forward five Days and a Quarter in every Year, and that in about 17 Years the first Day of the Winter Quarter would happen on the Day of the Month that belonged to the Spring, and so on, 'till in about 68 Years the Seasons would go almost round, thro'

the whole Year, and come about near to their true Place again. And this Confusion and Variety of the Seasons must have happened twice, about the time of the Disperſion of Mankind, and was the Cause of ſuch Diſorders in their Affairs, that in time it became a Part of the Priests Office to obſerve the Heavens, and to make publick Declarations, when the Seasons began for Tillage and Harveſt, which the People had no way to find out by any Diaries then made, or Tables of Chronology. Perhaps *Belus* was the firſt that became ſkilful in this Matter. If we conſider how ſlowly this ſort of Science was advanced, and that near a thouſand Years paſſed before they came to form any tolerable Notion of the true Length of the Year, we may imagine that *Belus* might purſue theſe Studies for ſeveral Years together, without bringing them to a great Height. He might begin his Studies Years before the Diſperſion of Mankind; might have made ſuch a Progreſs by the 14th Year of *Nimrod*, as to be able to give ſome, tho' perhaps not a very accurate Account of the Weather and Seasons, of the Seed-time and Harveſt, and a Science of ſuch Uſe to the Publick, however imperfect, could not but attract the Regard of the People, and procure great Honours to the Maſter of it. A continued Progreſs thro' a Courſe of theſe Studies muſt have every Year more
and

and more raised *Belus* in the Esteem of the People, and by the time of *Nimrod's* Death have procured him such a Veneration, as to make way for his being King. There is a Passage of *Eupolemus* (a) which seems to make *Belus* to be *Ham* the Son of *Noah*, for he describes him to be Father of *Canaan*, of *Mizraim*, of *Cous* or *Cush*, and of another Son, *i. e.* of *Phut*; and these were the Children which *Moses* ascribes to *Ham*. But if any one thinks all this not probable, and will have it that *Belus* was a Son of *Nimrod*; that when he came to be King, he only made a Settlement and Provision for the *Chaldean* Astronomers, and so obtained the Name of their Founder, I cannot dispute it; we can only guess in these Matters.

But, II. Many Authors have imagined that *Nineveh* was not built by *Asbur*, but by *Nimrod* himself, and they interpret the 11th Verse of the 10th Chapter of *Genesis* thus; *Out of that Land He* [*i. e.* *Nimrod*, before spoken of] *went forth into Assyria, and builded Nineveh, and the City Rehoboth and Calah, &c.* The Reasons they

(a) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 17. *It must be confessed the ancient Writers have very much confounded these ancient Names with one another: as Belus seems by this Passage to be Ham; so we shall find from another Passage which I have cited in its Place, that Phut, one of the Sons of Ham, was probably called by this Name; and perhaps the Words Chronus and Belus were both like Pharaoh, a Name or Title given to several Kings.*

give for this Opinion are, 1. They say, it does not seem likely that *Moses* should give any Account of the Settlement of one of the Sons of *Shem*, under the Head where he is discoursing of *Ham's* Family, when we see he reserves a distinct Head for each Family, and afterwards mentions *Ashur* in his Place, *ver.* 22. 2. *Ashur* the Son of *Shem*, (says Sir *W. Raleigh*) did not build *Nineveh*, but settled in another Place. He built *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, where the Children of *Shem* settled, until the Removal of *Abraham* out of that Country. That *Ashur* built *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, he collects from *Isaiab* (a), *Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, this People was not 'till Ashur founded it for the Inhabitants of the Wilderness.* 3. They say, If *Ashur* was the Founder of *Nineveh*, what became of him? 'Tis strange the Founder of so great an Empire should be but once mentioned, and that by the by, and that we should have no further Accounts of him. But to all this may be answered, 1. *Moses* is not so exactly methodical, but that upon mentioning *Nimrod* and his People, he may be conceived to hint at a Colony that departed from under his Government, tho' it happened to be led by a Person of another Family. 2. If *Ur* of the *Chaldees* was indeed built by *Ashur*, as is con-

(a) *Isaiab* xxiii. 13.

jectured from the Passage of *Isaiab* before mentioned, that is in no wise inconsistent with *Ashur's* going into *Assyria*, but rather agreeable to it; for *Ur* was not situate where *Sir Walter Raleigh* imagines, but in *Mesopotamia*, probably near the *Tygris*, and might therefore be built by the *Assyrian*, who bordered upon it. That *Ur* was in *Mesopotamia*, is evident from *St. Stephen's* supposing *Abraham* to dwell in *Mesopotamia*, before he went to *Haran* (a), whereas he removed from this *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, or, as the same *St. Stephen* expresses it, from the Land of the *Chaldeans*, directly to *Haran* (b). 3. As to the Silence of History about *Assur*, neither *Nineveh*, nor the Kingdom of *Assyria*, were raised to any remarkable Grandeur under *Assur* the first Founder of it. The Glory of *Nineveh*, and the Increase of the Empire was the Work of After-Kings. *Assur* only planted a few People in that Country, and took care to have Habitations for them; however the Country was, in succeeding Ages, called by his Name, and that is in Reality a greater Mention of him, than we have of several other Planters, who made perhaps more considerable Plantations than *Assur* did. But, 4. It is probable that *Assur* built *Nineveh*, from the Conquest of *Babylonia* by

(a) Acts vii. 2.

(b) Ibid. Ver. 4.

the *Assyrians* under *Ninus*. If *Nimrod* had built *Nineveh*, and planted *Assyria*, *Babylon* and *Assyria* would have been but one Empire, and it would be an Inconsistence to talk of a succeeding King of one of them conquering the other. That the *Assyrian* conquered the *Babylonians* is very particularly recorded by *Diodorus* (a); and therefore before *Ninus* united them, *Babylonia* and *Assyria* were two distinct Kingdoms, and not the Plantation of one and the same Founder. 5. The Land of *Asbur*, and the Land of *Nimrod*, are mentioned as two distinct Countries, *Micah* v. 6.

III. Another remarkable Thing in the Transactions of this Time, is the Opposition that *Ninus* met at *Bactria*, and *Semiramis* after him, when she endeavoured to penetrate farther, and to conquer *India*. When *Ninus* had instructed his People for War, he over-ran the Infant Kingdoms of *Asia*, by his own Force and Power, with much Ease, and without meeting any considerable Opposition; but when he came to attempt *Bactria*, tho' with an Army very probably enforced and increased with Supplies from the conquered Nations; yet he met a Power here equal to his own, and able to defend it self against repeated Attacks made by

(a) Loc. sup. cit.

him. *Bactria* is about a thousand Miles from *Shinaar*, and *India* two or three hundred Miles further; and now if we suppose that the whole Race of Mankind, *Noah* and all his Children, were dispersed from *Shinaar*, how is it possible that any one Plantation of them could, in so few Ages, reach and plant these distant Countries, and encrease and multiply to a Number able to defend themselves against the united Force of so many Companies of their Brethren? I dare say, had *Ninus* extended his Arms as far *West*, *North*, and *South*, as he did *East*, he would have found not powerful Armies, or considerable Nations, but uninhabited Countries. At the Separation of Mankind, the only Company that travelled this way from *Shinaar*, was *Jocktan* and his Sons. We are told they lived *from Mesha to Sephar*: And if we consider them, we cannot but think them a younger Branch; their Numbers not so great as those of some other Planters, born a Descent or two before them. But if we should allow them to be as potent as any other single People in the then World, able to defend themselves against the *Babylonians*, *Assyrians*, *Medes*, or any other particular Society of their Brethren; yet how is it possible that they should travel to such distant Habitations, and settle themselves into a firm and well-ordered Government; and be able

ble to bring into the Field sufficient Forces to repel the Attacks of *Medes*, *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, and most of the other Colonies united together. The Fact therefore here related confirms to me the Settlement we before allotted to *Noah* at his coming out of the Ark. *Bactria* and *India* are not very far from the *Ararat* we mentioned, and if so, 'tis easy to say how the Inhabitants of *Shinaar* might meet here as numerous and as potent Armies as their own. *Noah*, and those that remained with him, were settled sooner than the Travellers to *Shinaar*; and their Descendants, without doubt, were as many, as wise, as well instructed in all Arts, if not better; as potent in Arms, and every way as well prepared to support and maintain their Kingdoms. This therefore, I think, is the Reason why *Ninus* and *Semiramis* so easily overran the Kingdoms of *Asia*, but met so considerable an Opposition at *Bactria* and *India*: Amongst the former they found only the young and unexperienced States, that arose from the divided Travellers to *Shinaar*; but when they came to *Bactria* and *India*, they had to engage with Nations that were as soon, or sooner settled than themselves, that were descended from their great Ancestor *Noah*, and those that continued with him, and had been growing and encreasing as much as they, from the

the time that their Fathers had left their first Seats to travel to *Shinaar*.

IV. *Justin* (*a*) mentions some Wars between *Sesostris* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* King of *Scythia*, which, he says, were long before *Ninus*, and prior to all Dates and Computations of Time. It is something difficult to guess when these Wars happened. Some Writers suppose that *Justin* made a Mistake, and supposed these Wars so early, when in Truth they did not happen until many Ages after. *Tanais* and *Sesostris* are modern Names; in these I do not question but he was mistaken; there were no such Kings before *Ninus*. *Eusebius* takes notice (*b*) from *Abydenus*, that much about the time of, or soon after the Confusion of Tongues, there broke out a War between *Chronus* and *Titan*, and it is most probable that the *Chronus* here spoken of was *Mizraim*, the first King of *Egypt*; and if so, *Titan* probably was *Nimrod*, and the Wars here hinted at were Skirmishes that might happen upon *Nimrod's* attempting to drive *Mizraim*, and all others that would not come into his Society, from *Babel*, the Place where he erected his Kingdom. These Wars may justly be supposed a great while before *Ninus*, at least about

(*a*) L. 1. c. 1. (*b*) In Chron. & in Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. c. 14.

200 Years. That *Chronus* was *Mizraim*, may be hence conjectured: *Eupolemus* (a) makes *Chronus* to be one of the Names of *Ham*, for he records the Person so named to be the Father of the same Children, whom *Moses* affirms to be the Sons of *Ham*, namely of *Belus*, of *Canaan*, of *Cous*, and of *Mestraim*: *Canaan* and *Mestraim* are evidently the same with two of *Ham's* Sons mentioned by *Moses*, and *Cous* may easily be supposed to be *Cush*, and then *Belus* must be *Phut*. *Chronus* therefore was *Ham*, and these were his Sons; but then it is remarkable, that one of *Ham's* Children was also called *Chronus*, and this second *Chronus* was the *Mizraim* we are speaking of. That *Chronus*, or *Ham*, had a Son called also *Chronus*, we are informed by *Eusebius* (b), and the same Author assures us, that this *Chronus* was *Mizraim*, by informing us that he left (c) his Kingdom of *Egypt* to *Tautus*, whom all Writers acknowledge to be the Son of *Menes*, or *Mizraim*, and to have succeeded him in that Kingdom: And this is what induces me to imagine, that the Wars ascribed by *Justin* to *Tanais* and *Sesoftris*, were some Skirmishes that might happen between *Nimrod* and *Mizraim*. Other Writers besides *Abydenus*

(a) Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. c. 17. (b) Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 37. (c) Id. ibid. p. 39.

have mentioned these Wars; we have some Hints of them both in *Plutarch* (a) and *Diodorus* (b), but with a small Change of the Names of the Warriors: According to them, these Wars happened between *Typhon* and *Osiris*; but *Typhon* and *Titan* may be easily conceived, by the Accounts the *Greeks* give of them, to be the same Person; and there is good reason to think *Osiris* the same Person with *Mizraim*, both if we consider (c) the Name, and what is affirmed of him (d). *Plutarch*, in his Account of these Wars, gives us some Things Historically false, and others fabulous; but that is no Wonder. The *Greeks* have been observed to augment all the ancient Stories, which they brought from *Egypt*, with various Additions. His Account, that *Typhon* had the Aid of *Afo*, a famous Queen of (e) *Æthiopia*, against *Osiris*, looks as if these Wars had been imagined to have been carried on in the Times of *Semiramis*, but *Mizraim* died before *Belus* the second King of *Assyria*. Upon the whole, all we can offer about these Wars must be imperfect and uncertain: We can only

(a) Lib. de Isid. & Osirid. (b) Hist. Lib. 1. (c) Mizraim in the Singular Number is Misor; and Osiris is often written Isiris, or Isor. (d) Isiris is affirmed to be the Brother of Cuan, which was the ancient Pronunciation of מִצְרַיִם, or Canaan. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 39. Moses makes Mizraim the Brother of Canaan. (e) Æthiopia is the Land of Cush.

pretend to shew, that the best Accounts of them do not contradict, but rather agree with the History of these Times. *Mizraim* and his Sons were in After-ages worshipped as Gods in *Egypt*; and the Story of this War (a) of *Titan*, or *Typhon*, against them, gave occasion to the *Greek* Fables about the War of the Giants with the Gods. But to return to our History.

Whilst *Nimrod* was settling his People at *Babel*, *Mizraim*, with those that adhered to him, took his Way towards *Egypt*, and arrived there, 'tis thought, about the fifteenth Year of *Nimrod*, Anno Mundi 1772. He seated himself near the Entrance of *Egypt*, and perhaps built the City *Zoan*, which *Bochart* proves to have been the Seat of the Kings of *Egypt* in the first Ages. The Time of *Mizraim's* settling in *Egypt*, fifteen Years later than *Nimrod* at *Shinaar*, is very probable. From *Shinaar* to the Entrance of *Egypt* is near 700 Miles, and we cannot suppose that he went directly thither. *Hebron* in *Canaan* was built seven Years before *Zoan* in *Egypt* (b), and it seems by its Situation to have stood in the mid-way between *Shinaar* and *Egypt*. Whether *Mizraim* was at the building of *Hebron*

(a) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 39. xiii. 22.

(b) Numb.

we cannot say; he very probably made many Stops in several Places; for we cannot think that he knew any thing of *Egypt* at his first setting out, but he travelled in search of a Country where he should like to settle; and after many Journeys, and perhaps some short Abodes in several Places, where some Inconveniences or other dissuaded him from settling, at length he came to the Banks of *Nile*. Here he found a plentiful and well-watered Country, and therefore here he determined to fix, and move no further; and he may well be supposed to have spent fifteen Years in travelling thus far in this manner.

The Person whom *Moses* calls *Mizraim*, is by *Diodorus* and the other Heathen Writers commonly called *Menes*, by *Syncellus* *Mestram*. *Menes* is supposed to be the first King of *Egypt*, by *Herodotus* (a), *Diodorus* (b), *Eratosthenes*, *Africanus* from *Manetho*, *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* (c); and the Times of their *Menes* coincides very well with those of *Moses's* *Mizraim*, as Sir *John Marsham* has pretty clearly evidenced in the following manner (d).

1. He observes from *Diodorus* (e), that *Menes* was succeeded by fifty two Kings, whose Reigns, all together, took up the

(a) Lib. 2. (b) Lib. 1. (c) In Chron. Euseb. (d) Can. Chron. p. 22. (e) Lib. 1. p. 29.

Space of above 1400 Years, in all which Time the *Egyptians* had done nothing worth the recording in History. 2. He supposes these 1400 Years to end at *Sesoftris*; for *Herodotus* is exprefs (a) that the first illustrious Actions were done in *Egypt*, in the Time of *Sesoftris*; before *Sesoftris*, says he (b), they had nothing famous; and *Diodorus* (c) says, that *Sesoftris* performed the most illustrious Actions, far exceeding all before him. 3. He supposes with *Josephus* (d), that this *Sesoftris* was *Sesac*, who besieged *Jerusalem* in the fifth Year of *Rehoboam* King of *Juda*, about *A. M.* 3033. The only Difficulty in this Argumentation will be, that it places *Menes*, or *Mizraim*, above a Century earlier than his true Age; for if we reckon backward 1400 Years, from the Year before-named, in which *Sesac* besieged *Jerusalem*, we shall place *Mizraim* *A. M.* 1633, *i. e.* 23 Years before the Flood, and 139 Years earlier than the true Time of his Reign, which began, as we before said, at least 15 Years later than that of *Nimrod*, *A. M.* 1772; but this

(a) Lib. 2. c. 101. (b) Sir John Marsham thus quotes Herodotus; but Herodotus's Words are, in loc. supr. cit. Τῶν δ' ἀλλων Βασιλέων, ἃ δ' ἔλεγον ἐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀπόδειξιν, κατ' ἐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητ' ἢ πᾶσι ἑνὸς τῶ ἐχάτε αὐτῶν Μοίει. *Mœris was the immediate Predecessor of Sesoftris.*

(c) Lib. 1. p. 34.

(d) Antiquit. Lib. 8. c. 4. p. 368. edit. Hudf.

Difficulty may be easily clear'd: The Number 1400 Years is a Mistake: *Diodorus* says expressly, that there were but fifty two Kings from *Menes*, to the Time where *Sesoftris's* Reign is supposed to begin; and according to Sir *John Marsham's* Tables of the *Theban* Kings, from *Menes* to *Sesoftris* is but 1370 Years, tho' we suppose *Sesoftris* the fifty fifth King from *Menes*; and even this Number is too great, if, as *Diodorus* computes, there were fifty two Kings only. The Ancients generally allowed about 36 Years and an half to the Reign of a King, and therefore if we deduct from 1370 the Number of Years between *Menes* and *Sesoftris*, according to Sir *John Marsham's* Tables, I say, if we deduct three times 36 Years and an half, or about 110 Years, supposing those Tables to have the Names of three Kings too many, the Number of Kings being, according to *Diodorus*, fifty two, and not fifty five, we shall then make the Space of Time between *Menes* and *Sesoftris* about 1260 Years; and so it really is, according to the *Hebrew* Chronology, *Menes* beginning his Reign, as we before said, *Anno Mundi* 1772; and *Sesoftris*, or *Sesac*, besieging *Jerusalem* in the fifth Year of *Rehoboam*, *Anno Mundi* 3033. It is remarkable, that the Marginal Note in *Rhodomannus's* Edition of *Diodorus Siculus* supposes the Number 1400 Years to be a Mistake;

stake; but the Annotator was not happy in his Emendation; for if we should read 1040, as he would correct it, that would fall as short of the true Age of *Menes*, as the other exceeds it.

There is a Quotation from *Dicæarchus*, the Scholar of *Aristotle*, a more ancient Historian than either *Eratosthenes* or *Manetho*, and a Writer of the best Character with the Learned (*a*), which may also determine the Age of *Menes*. The Passage is preserved by the Scholiast upon the *Argonautics* of *Apollonius* (*b*). *Dicæarchus* there affirms, that the Reign of *Nilus* was 436 Years before the First *Olympiad*. Now, according to Archbishop *Usher*, the first *Olympiad* fell *A. M.* 3228; the Reign of *Nilus* therefore began *Anno Mundi* 2792: And by the Canon of *Eratosthenes*, *Nilus* was the thirty sixth King from *Menes*, or *Mizraim*, and *Mizraim's* Reign began 987 Years before *Nilus*, and consequently began *A. M.* 1805. The Difference between this and the first Year of *Menes*, according to the other Computation, is but thirty three Years; we cannot say which of them, or whether either of them be the exact Truth, but their agreeing so nearly is an Evidence that neither of them vary much from it.

(*a*) Marsham Can. Chronic.

(*b*) Lib. 4. Ver. 272.

Menes, tho' he at first seated himself in the Land of *Zoan*, in the Entrance of *Egypt*, yet did not settle here for Life. He afterwards removed further into the Country, into the Parts afterwards called *Thebais*, and built the City *Thebes*; he is also said by *Herodotus* to have built the City of *Memphis* (a); and by *Plato* (b) he is said to have reign'd King over all *Egypt*. His Removal into the South Parts of *Egypt*, namely the Country of *Thebais*, is taken particular notice of by *Eusebius* (c), and the Time of this his Migration is fixed by *Apollodorus* (d), and said to be 124 Years after the Dispersion of Mankind, *i. e.* *A. M.* 1881. *Menes* is supposed to have lived sixty-two Years after his planting *Thebais*, and so to have died *A. M.* 1943. *Menes* cannot be supposed to have been born much earlier than *Arphaxad*, *i. e.* not before two Years after the Flood; at the Dispersion of Mankind, therefore, he could be but ninety-nine; at his Entrance into *Egypt* but fifteen Years older, *i. e.* 114; at his Removal to *Thebais*, 124 Years; after the Dispersion of Mankind, he might be 238; and if he reign'd sixty-two Years after this, he died in the 300th Year of his Age. We find

(a) Herod. l. 2. c. 99. (b) In Phædro. p. 1240. Plato calls him *Timæus*. (c) Eusebius præp. Evang. lib. 1. p. 39. Eusebius calls him *Κεῖν*: but it is to be observed, that *Κεῖν*, the Father of *Taautus*, was the Son of *Κεῖν*, or *Ham*, for so was *Mizraim*; and thus he is recorded to have been by Eusebius, p. 27. (d) In Euseb; Chron.

Arphaxad his Cotemporary, Descendant of *Shem*, lived to be 438. So might *Mizraim* have been, but the Ancients were of opinion that he was killed.

Diodorus Siculus informs us, that he was killed by *Typhon* (a). The *Egyptian* Records (b) give the Account of his Death more obscurely; they say, Ὑπὸ Ἰπποποτάμῳ ἠεπάδθη, that he was pulled in pieces by the Crocodile. *Eusebius* (c) explains this by observing, that the *Egyptians*, when these Facts afterwards came to be turned into Fable and Allegory, represented *Typhon* by the Figure of a Crocodile; and *Plutarch* (d) informs us, that there was such a Representation of *Typhon* at *Hermopolis*; and *Ælian* remarks (e), that the Reason for the Aversion, which the Inhabitants of *Apollinopolis* had to a Crocodile, arose from a Tradition, that *Typhon* was turned into a Creature of that Shape.

As *Mizraim* came afterwards to be worshipped, so his Death was commemorated with great Solemnity; and Sir *John Marsham* (f) was of opinion, that the Ceremony of the Women sitting at the North Gate of the Temple (g), weeping

(a) Lib. 1. (b) Euseb. Chronic. Syncellus p. 54. (c) Præp. Evang. lib. 3. c. 12. (d) Lib. de Iside & Osiride p. 371. (e) Var. Hist. l. 14. c. 26. (f) Can. Chronic. p. 31. (g) Ezek. viii. 14.

for *Tammuz*, was an Imitation of some *Egyptian* Rites on this Occasion.

After the Death of *Mizraim*, his seven Sons governed each of them a little Kingdom, and these I take to be the *Cabiri* of the Ancients. There were seven of the *Cabiri*, Sons of one Person, called *Sydec* (a); and there was an eighth Person added to them, concerning whose Name they differed a little; some of them, according to *Eusebius*, calling him *Æsculapius*; others, according to *Damascus* in his Life of *Isidore* in *Photius* (b), naming him *Esmunus*. It is impossible to reduce the numerous, but fabulous, Stories we have of these *Cabiri*, to any tolerable Consistency; for they were all the Inventions of later Ages, and when the fabulous Accounts of later Ages were intermix'd with the ancient Traditions, it often happened, as is observed in *Eusebius* (c), that the Truth was very much obscured by them. *Diodorus Siculus* very justly observes (d), that the *Greeks* worshipped for their Gods some Heroes and great Men that had formerly been famous in *Egypt*, whose Lives at first, or at least short Memoirs of them, had been written in a plain and simple manner, but After-writers (e) embelished the

Cabiri

(a) Euseb. præp. Evang. p. 39. (b) Bibliothec. p. 1074.
(c) Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 9 & 10. (d) Lib. 1. p. 14. (e) Eusebius præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 39.

Accounts given of them, by adding to them various Fictions. Of this sort I take to be the Accounts we have of *Chronus* building (a) *Byblus* and *Berytus*, and of the *Cabiri* dwelling there. This Story looks like an Invention of *Philo's*, to do honour to his own Country, or to raise the Reputation of *Sanconiathon's* Writings. *Mizraim* and his Sons settled in or near to *Egypt*, and it does not look probable that they built Cities in *Phœnicia*, or could travel all over the World, as *Diodorus Siculus* relates of them. They travelled from *Shinaar* to *Egypt*, and up and down *Egypt*, and backwards and forwards in the Countries near it, as *Abraham* did afterwards up and down *Mesopotamia*, *Canaan*, and *Egypt*; and this was enough to give an Handle to Writers to represent them in After-ages as travelling from one End of the Earth to the other. *Taautus*, one of the *Cabiri*, is said to have made Schemes and Representations of the Deities (b); but this Story confutes it self: Such Schemes and Representations could not be made, until the Mythologic Times, *i. e.* not till many Years after *Thyoth* or *Taautus* was dead and buried. The Word *Cabiri*, according to the Explanation given of it by *Varro* (c) and *Ma-*

(a) Euseb. præp. Evang. p. 38.

(b) Id. ibid. p. 39.

(c) Varro. l. 4.

crobius (a), signifies *Powerful Deities*, and such the Idolatrous Nations thought their ancient Heroes, when they came to worship them. The *Cabiri* were, as I observed, eight in Number; seven, Sons of one Man; and so many, according to *Moses*, were the Sons of *Mizraim*; the eighth Person added to them might be the Father of the *Philistins*, whom *Moses* mentions (b) along with the Sons of *Mizraim*.

Three of the Sons of *Mizraim* became Kings in *Egypt*, *Ananim*, *Naphtubim*, *Patbrusim*: *Ananim*, or rather, *Anan*, was King of the *Lower Egypt*, or *Delta*; *Naphtubim*, or *Naphth*, of the Parts near and about *Memphis*; *Patbrusim*, or *Patrus*, of the Country of *Thebais*; and agreeably hereto, the Countries they were Kings of took their ancient Names from the Names of these Men; *Lower Egypt* was called *Zoan*, or *Zanan*, or more probably *Tanan*, according to the *Latin* Word in *Agro Taneos* (c); the Kingdom of *Memphis* was called the Land of *Noph*, or *Naph* (d); and the Kingdom of *Thebais*, the Land of *Patrus*, or *Patros* (e).

(a) Saturnal. l. 3. c. 4. (b) Gen. x. 14. (c) Psal. lxxviii
 12. & 43. Isaiah xix. 11. & 13. Chap. xxx. 4. (d) Isaiah
 xix. 13. Jerem. ii. 16. Chap. xlv. Ver. 1. Chap. xlv. Ver. 14.
 Ibid. 19. Ezek. xxx. 13, 16. (e) Jerem. xlv. 1.

Ananim was also called *Curudes*. We have little of this first King of *Lower Egypt*, but his Name and Term of Life; according to *Syncellus*, he reigned sixty three Years, and so died *A. M.* 2006.

Naphtukim was the King of *Naph*, or Land of *Memphis*; his *Egyptian* Name was *Tosorthrus*, and the *Latins* afterwards called him *Æsculapius*. He was of greater Eminence than his Brother *Ananim*, but not so famous as his other Brother, who was King of *Thebes*. *Pathrusim* is imagined to have first invented the Use of Letters, but *Naphtukim* is said (a) to have learnt both them and several other useful Arts from him, and to have instructed his People in them. He is said to have been the Author of the Architecture of these Ages (b), and to have had some useful Knowledge in Physick and Anatomy (c). The *Egyptians* do indeed, in the general (d), ascribe all their Sciences to the other Brother, but it is easy to conceive how this might happen. *Pathrusim*, whom they called *Thyoth*, was a Person so extraordinary, that it might be difficult for any other Name beside his to obtain any considerable Share of Reputation in the Age

(a) *Syncell.* p. 50. Γραφῆς ἐπεμελίθη. In quidem non de illarum Inventione intelligi debet, sed de curâ Secundariâ, operâque ex præcepto Mercurii navatâ. *Marsham Can. Chron.* p. 40. (b) *Syncell.* *ibid.* (c) *Syncell.* p. 54. (d) *Jamblich. de Myster. Ægypt.*

he lived in. Letters indeed are said to have come into use in these Days, and Men began to minute down in Characters upon pieces of Stone, or lumps of burnt Earth, some Hints of Things, in order to transmit them to future Ages; but as few Persons only were skilled in this Art, and as the Names of the Inventors of Arts were but few, 'tis probable their Names were not always recorded with their Inventions. The Age they lived in knew them and honoured them, and Tradition preserved their Characters for Generations; but Tradition becomes in time a very uncertain Register of past Transactions, and so it happened in this Case; what was recorded was handed down to Posterity; but After-ages grew more and more uncertain, who were the Authors of what was transmitted to them; and Men ascribed things more or less to particular Persons, according as they had their Names in Honour and Esteem. The most ancient Fragments of the *Egyptian Learning* (a) were some Inscriptions upon Lumps of burnt Earth, called $\sigma\tilde{\eta}\lambda\alpha\iota$, or Pillars; and these were, some Ages after these Times, found hid in some Caves near *Thebes* or *Diospolis* (b). *Agathodæmon*, called the *second Mercury*, decyphered them; they

(a) Snycell. p. 40.

(b) Pausan. l. 1. p. 78.

were two and forty (*a*) in Number; six and thirty of them were wrote upon Philosophical Subjects, *i. e.* upon the Origin of the World, and History of Mankind, which was the Philosophy of these Times; the other six related to Medicine. It is probable none of these Pillars had any Author's Name set on them, and the Humour then being to ascribe all Science to *Thyoth*, the Decypherer might take them all for his, whereas six and thirty of them only might be *Thyoth's*, and the other six *Tosorthrus's*, who is said to have been more skilful than other Men upon this Subject. How long *Tosorthrus* lived, is uncertain.

Pathrusim was King of *Thebais*, his *Egyptian* Name was *Thyoth*, or, according to the *Alexandrian* Dialect, *Thoth*. He was also called *Atbothes*. His *Greek* Name was *Hermes*; and afterwards the *Latins* named him *Mercurius*. He is said to have been a Person of a very happy Genius, for all Inventions of common Use and Service to Mankind (*b*). And whilst *Mizraim* was alive, he is supposed (*c*) to have been his Secretary, and great Assistant in all his Undertakings; and when his Father *Mizraim* died, he is said to have instructed his Brothers in the Arts and Sciences that he was Master of.

(*a*) Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. (*b*) Diodor. l. 1. (*c*) Euseb. præp. Evang. p. 36. Diodor. ut supr.

(a) *Eusebius* relates, that *Mizraim* (whom he mentions by the Name of *Chronus*) when he died, left his Kingdom wholly to this *Thyoth*, or *Taautus*, and so perhaps he might; and *Taautus* having instructed his Brothers, might send them out to plant each a Nation. He made Laws; enrich'd his Language, by teaching his People Names for many things, which before they had no Words for; and he corrected and made more expreffive the Language then in use amongst them. He is said to have settled their Religion, and Method of Worship, and to have made some Astronomical Observations, and to have taught the Use of Letters; and his Success in these and other Attempts was so great, and obtain'd him so much Honour, that Posterity thought him the sole Author of all their Arts and Sciences whatsoever. And this is the best Account that can be given of the Nations that inhabited *Egypt* in the Ages next after the Dispersion of Mankind.

There is no doubt but other Nations were settled in these Times, tho' we have not any Hints of their History. It is certain *Canaan* was inhabited even sooner than *Egypt*; for, according to (b) *Moses*, *Hebron* in *Canaan* was built seven Years before *Zoan* in *Egypt*; and it is generally

(a) *Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 1. p. 39.* (b) *Numb. xiii. 22.*

thought that about the fifteenth Year of *Belus*, i. e. 165 Years after the first Year of *Nimrod's* Kingdom, and 150 Years after *Mizraim's* Settlement in *Egypt*, A. M. 1922 (a), *Egialeus* began a Kingdom at *Sicyon* in *Greece*; so that Mankind was ere this time dispersed over a considerable Part of the World. But it does not appear that any of these Nations made a great Figure in the first Ages. The few Men of extraordinary Eminence, that were in the World in these Times, lived in *Egypt* and *Assyria*; and for this Reason we find little or no mention of any other Countries, until one of these two Nations came to send out Colonies, by whom the People they travelled to were by degrees polished and instructed in Arts and Sciences, made to appear with Credit in their own Age, and some Accounts of them transmitted to those that should come after. As *Assyria* has the Credit of the first Attempts in Astronomy, so some Authors imagine Letters to have been first invented in *Egypt*. There are other Writers that ascribe them to other Nations. The Use of Letters was certainly very early, for else we could not have had the short Memoirs we have of the first Ages of the World; and tho' the Learned have not agreed about the first Author of them,

(a) Euseb. Chron.

and the Place where they were invented, yet it is remarkable, that by a Review of what has been written about them, we may trace them backward from Nation to Nation, as we have reason to think the Use and Knowledge of them has been propagated, and find them most early used in those Parts from whence Mankind dispersed at the Confusion of Tongues.

For, to begin with the *Europeans*: As we are settled far from the first Seats of Mankind, far from the Places which the Descendants of *Noah* first planted; so the Use of Letters appears to have been in the World much earlier than Mankind can be reasonably supposed to have inhabited these Countries. 'Tis remarkably evident, that many of the *European* Nations came to the Knowledge of Letters but in late Ages. *Ælian* (a) makes particular mention of the Ignorance of the *Thracians*, which was so great and universal, that he quotes *Androtion*, affirming, that many of the Ancients rejected the Accounts they had of *Orpheus*, imagining them to be fabulous, because he was a *Thracian*, which they thought Argument sufficient to prove him to be illiterate: *None of the ancient Thracians* (says he) *knew any thing of Letters; nay, the Europeans thought it disreputable to*

(a) Var. Hist. l. 8. c. 6.

learn them, tho' in Asia they were in more Request. The Goths had their Letters and Writing from *Ulphila*, who was their Bishop, so late as 370 Years since our Saviour, according to the express Testimony of *Socrates* (a). So that the Opinion of *Olaus*, of the Antiquity of their Letters, is very groundless. The *Slavonians* received their Letters from *Methodius* (b) a Philosopher, about the time of the Emperor *Lewis* II. Successor to *Lotharius*, i. e. about *Anno Dom.* 865; and it is but a Fiction, that the ancient *Franks* (c), who set up *Pharamond* the first King of *France*, had Letters like the old *Greeks*, as (d) *Cornelius Agrippa* imagined. *St. Jerom* (e) translated the Bible into the *Dalmatian* Tongue, in Letters something like the *Greek* ones, and taught the People of that Country how to read it. *St. Cyril* did the same for the *Illyrici*; and the People of these Countries have Books wrote in these Letters, and call them after the Names (f) of *St. Jerom* and *St. Cyril* to this Day. The *Latins* and *Greeks* were certainly the only People of *Europe* that had the Use of Letters very early: Let us now see how they came by their Knowledge of them.

(a) Soc. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 33. (b) Aventin. Annal. l. 4.
 (c) Vossius de Arte Gram. l. 1. c. 9. (d) Corn. Agrip. de vanit. Scientiar. l. 1. c. 11. Walton. prolegom. (e) Id. ibid.
 (f) Walton. prolegom.

And as to the *Latins*, all Writers agree, that they received their Letters from the *Greeks*, being first taught the Use of them by some of the Followers of *Pelasgus*, who came into *Italy* about 150 Years after *Cadmus* came into *Greece*, or by the *Arcadians*, whom *Evander* led into these Parts about 60 Years after *Pelasgus*. *Pliny* and *Solinus* imagined the *Pelasgi* (a) to have been the first Authors of the *Latin* Letters; but *Tacitus* was of Opinion that the first *Italians* (b) were taught Letters by the *Arcadians*; and *Dionysius* (c) *Halicarnassens* expressly affirms the same Thing; so that in this Point indeed there is a Difference amongst Writers; but still the *Pelasgi* and *Arcadians* being both of them *Grecian* Colonies that removed to seek new Habitations, it remains uncontroverted, that the *Latins* received their Lettets from the *Greeks*, which soever of these were the Authors of them. It is very probable the *Pelasgi* might first introduce the Use of them, and the *Arcadians*, who came so soon after them, might bring along with them the same Arts as the *Pelasgi* had before taught, and Letters in particular; and some Parts of *Italy* might be instructed by one, and some by the other; and this is exactly agreeable

Son of
 * Niobe
 of Lycion
 1300 B. C.

Cadmus,
 Phoenician
 into Greece
 1500 B. C.
 Son of

(a) Plin. l. 7. c. 56.
 Halicar. l. 2.

(b) L. II. p. 131.

(d) Dion.

to *Pliny* (a). That the *Latin* Letters were derived from the *Greek* seems very probable, from the Similitude the ancient Letters of each Nation bear to one another. *Tacitus* (b) observes that the Shape of the *Latin* Letters was like that of the most ancient *Greek* ones; and the same Observation was made by (c) *Pliny*, and confirm'd from an ancient Table of Brasses inscribed to *Minerva*. *Scaliger* (d) has endeavoured to prove the same Point, from an Inscription on a Pillar which stood formerly in the *Via Appia* to Old *Rome*, and was afterwards removed into the Gardens of *Farnese*. *Vossius* is of the same Opinion, and has shewn (e) at large how the old *Latin* Letters were formed from the ancient *Greek*, with a very small Variation.

Let us now come to the *Greeks*; and they confess that they were taught their Letters. The (f) *Ionians* were the first that had Knowledge of them, and they learned them from the *Phœnicians*. The *Ionians* did not form their Letters exactly according to the *Phœnician* Alphabet, but they varied them but little, and were so just as to acknowledge whence they received them, by always calling their Let-

(a) Lib. 7. c. 56. (b) Tacit. Annal. l. 11. (c) L. 7. c. 58. (d) Digress. ad Annum Euseb. 1617. (e) Voss. l. 1. c. 24, 25. (f) Herod. in Terpsichor.

ters *Phœnician*. And the Followers of *Cadmus* are (a) supposed to be the Persons who taught the *Ionians* the first Use of their Letters. This is the Substance of what is most probable about the Origin of the *Greek* Letters. There are indeed other Opinions of some Writers to be met with; for some have imagined that *Palamedes* was the Author of the *Greek* Letters, others that *Linus*, and others that *Simonides*; but these Persons were not the first Authors, but only the Improvers of the *Greek* Alphabet. The long Vowels η and ω were the Invention of *Simonides*; for at first ε and o were used promiscuously, as long or short Vowels: ϕ , χ , and θ , were Letters added to the Alphabet by *Palamedes*; and ξ and ψ , tho' we are not certain who was the Author of them, did not belong to the original Alphabet; but still, tho' these Letters were the Inventions of *Palamedes*, *Linus*, or *Simonides*, yet they cannot be said to be the Authors of the *Greek* Letters in general, because the *Greeks* had an Alphabet of Letters before these particular ones came into use; as might be shewn from several Testimonies of ancient Writers, and some Specimens

Simonides
Poet of Boeotia
fl. about 540

Palamedes
gr: chief, do
Nauplius, tu
Euboea - fl
during 7: Tr
war - sea
man as in
a soldier

(a) See Plut. Sympos. l. 9. prob. 2 & 3. Philostrat. l. 2. de vit. Sophist. Critias apud Athenæum l. 1. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. Voss. de arte Gram. l. 1. c. 10. Scalger in Not. ad Euseb. 1617. Grot. in Not. ad lib. de veritat. Rel. l. 1. n. 13. Bochart. Geog. Sacra.

of ancient Inscriptions, several Copies of which have been taken by the Curious.

Vossius (a) was of opinion that *Cecrops* was the first Author of the Greek Letters; and it must be confessed that he has given some, not improbable, Reasons for his Conjecture; and *Cecrops* was an Egyptian, much older than *Cadmus*, and was remarkable for understanding both the Egyptian and Greek Tongues; but the Arguments for *Cadmus* are more in number, and more conclusive than for *Cecrops*. If *Cecrops* did teach the Greeks any Letters, the Characters he taught are intirely lost; for the most ancient Greek Letters which we have any Specimen of, were brought into Greece by *Cadmus*, or his Followers. *Herodotus* (b) expressly affirms himself to have seen the very oldest Inscriptions in Greece, and that they were wrote in the Letters which the Ionians first used, and learned from *Cadmus*, or the Phœnicians. The Inscriptions he speaks of were upon the Tripods at *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, in the Temple of *Apollo*. There were three of these Tripods: The first of them was given to the Temple by *Amphitryon*, the Descendant of *Cadmus*: The second by *Laius* the Son of *Hippocoon*: The third by *Laodamas* the Son of *Eteocles*. *Scaliger*

(a) Loc. supr. cit.

(b) Loc. supr. cit.

has (a) given a Copy of these Inscriptions (as he says) in the old *Ionian* Letters, but I doubt he is in this Point mistaken, as he is also in another Piece (b) of Antiquity which he has copied, namely, the Inscription on *Herod's* Pillar, which stood formerly in the *Via Appia*, but was afterwards removed into the Gardens of *Farnese*. The Letters on this Pillar do not seem to be the old *Ionian*, as may be seen by comparing them with *Chisbull's* *Sigean* Inscription, or with the Letters on the Pedestal of the *Colossus* at *Delos*, of which *Montfaucon* gives a Copy; but they are either (as Dr. *Chisbull* imagines) such an Imitation of the *Ionian*, as *Herod* a good Antiquary knew how to make; or they are the Character which the *Ionian* Letters were in a little time changed to, for they do not differ very much from them. But, to return: It is, I say, agreed by the best Writers, that the *Greeks* received their Letters from the *Phœnicians*, and that the ancient *Ionian* Letters were the first that were in use amongst them. And thus we have traced Letters into *Phœnicia*. We have now to enquire whether the *Phœnicians* were the Inventers of them, or whether they received them from some other Nation.

(a) Digress. ad ann. Euseb. 1617. (b) Ad Num. Euseb. 1702.

We must confess that many Writers have supposed the *Phœnicians* to be the Inventors of Letters. (a) *Pliny* and (b) *Curtius* both hint this Opinion; and agreeable hereto are the Words of the Poet (c).

*Phœnices primi, Famæ si credimus, ausi
Mansuram rudibus Vocem signare Figuris.*

And *Cretias* (d)

Φοίνικες δ' ἄρ' εὖν γράμματ' ἀλεξίλογα.

And so *Hesychius* makes ἐκφοινίξαι and ἀναγνώσσαι, to act the *Phœnician*, and to read, to be synonymous Terms. But there are other Authors and with better Reason of another Opinion. *Diodorus* (e) says expressly, that the *Syrians* were the Inventors of Letters, and that the *Phœnicians* learnt them from them, and afterwards sailed with *Cadmus* into *Europe*, and taught them to the *Greeks*. *Eusebius* assents to this (f), and thinks the *Syrians* that first invented Letters, were the *Hebrews*; tho' this is not certain. It is indeed true (g), that the ancient *Hebrews* had the same Tongue and Characters, or Letters, with the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, as might be

(a) *Plin.* l. 5. & l. 7. (b) *Lib.* 4. § 4. (c) *Lucan.* Pharsal. l. 3. (d) *Apud Athenæum* l. 1. (e) *Lib.* 5. (f) *Præp. Evan.* l. 10. (g) *Lucian.* Chæril. de Solymis. *Scal.* digress. ad Ann. *Euseb.* 1617.

evidenced from the concurrent Testimonies of many Authors; nay, all the Nations in these Parts, *Phœnicians*, *Canaanites*, *Samaritans*, and probably the *Assyrians*, for some Ages, spake and wrote alike.

Athanasius Kircher (a) imagined that the *Phœnicians* learnt their Letters from the *Egyptians*, and endeavoured to prove that the first Letters which *Cadmus* brought into *Greece*, were *Egyptian*. He describes the Figures of these *Cadmean* Letters, and endeavours to prove, that they were the very same that were used at that time in *Egypt*; but his Arguments for this Opinion are not conclusive. The Letters he produces are the present *Coptic*, as the very Names and Figures of them shew evidently; not that the *Greek* Letters were derived from them, but rather that the *Egyptians* learnt them from the ancient *Greeks*; and I believe (says Bishop *Walton*) whoever shall read the *Coptic* Books, will find such a Mixture of *Greek* Words in them, that he cannot doubt but that *Ptolemy* after his Conquests in *Greece*, brought their Letters, and much of their Language into *Egypt*. *Kircher* endeavours to shew by their Form and Shape, that the *Greek* Letters were formed from the *Egyptian* Description of their Sacred

(a) OEdip. Ægypt. Tom. 3. diatr. præufor. 3.

Animals, which he thinks were the Letters which the *Egyptians* at first used in their common Writing, as well as in their Hieroglyphical Mysteries. These Letters, he says, *Cadmus* communicated to the *Greeks*, with only this Difference, that he did not take care to keep up to the precise Form of them, but made them in a looser manner. He pretends to confirm his Opinion from *Herodotus*; and lastly affirms from St. *Jerom*, that *Cadmus*, and his Brother *Phœnix*, were *Egyptians*; that *Phœnix*, in their Travels from *Egypt*, stay'd at *Phœnicia*, which took its Name from him; that *Cadmus* went into *Greece*, but could not possibly teach the *Grecians* any other Letters, than what himself had learnt when he lived in *Egypt*. But to all this there are many Objections. 1. The Hieroglyphical way of Writing was not the most ancient way of Writing in *Egypt*, nor that which *Cadmus* taught the *Greeks*. 2. *Herodotus*, in (a) the Passage cited, does not affirm *Cadmus* to have brought *Egyptian* Letters into *Greece*, but expressly calls them *Phœnician* Letters; and, as we said before, the *Phœnician* Letters were the same as the *Hebrew*, *Canaanitish*, or *Syrian*, as *Scaliger*, *Vossius*, and *Bochart* have proved beyond Contradiction. 3. St. *Jerom* does not say whe-

(a) In Terpsich. Φείνια τῶ Κάδμου γράμματα.

ther *Cadmus's* Letters were *Phœnician* or *Egyptian*, so that his Authority is of no Service in the Point before us; and as to *Cadmus* and *Phœnix's* being *Egyptians*, that is much questioned; it is more probable they were *Canaanites*, as shall be proved hereafter.

Many considerable Writers have given the *Egyptians* the Credit of inventing Letters; and they all agree that *Mercury* or *Thyoth* was the Inventer of them. *Pliny* (a), in the very Place where he says that some ascribed the Invention of Letters to the *Syrians*, confesses that others thought the *Egyptians* the Inventers of them, and *Mercury* their first Author. *Diodorus* (b) expressly ascribes the Invention of them to the same Person; and so does *Plutarch* (c), and *Cicero* (d). *Ter-tullian* (e) went into the same Opinion; and we also find it in *Plato*. *Kircher* (f) describes the Shape of the very Letters which this *Thyoth* invented. And *Philo-Biblius*, the Translator of *Sancho-niathon's* History, quoted by *Eusebius* and *Porphyry*, mentions the *Commentaries* of *Taautus*, or *Thyoth*, and the Sacred Letters he wrote his Books in; and *Jambli-*

(a) Hist. l. 7. c. 56. (b) Diodor. l. 2. (c) Sympos. l. 20.
 c. 3. (d) Lib. de Natur. Deorum 3. (e) Lib. de coronâ
 Militis, c. 8. & de Testim. Animæ c. 5. 9. (f) OEdip.
 Ægypt. Tom. 3. diatrib. 2.

chus (a) speaks of an incredible Number of (b) Books wrote by this *Taautus*. All Antiquity agrees, that the Use of Letters was very early in *Egypt*, and that *Thyoth* or *Mercury* was the first that used them there, and taught others the Use of them; but tho' he is by many Writers, for this Reason, called the Inventaer of Letters, yet I cannot think that he really was so; considering that Mankind was not planted first in *Egypt* after the Flood, but travelled thither from other Countries. We have already shewn that the Use of Letters was in *Greece* first, then in *Italy*, and afterwards spread into the other Parts of *Europe*. We have also considered how they came into *Greece*, namely, from *Phœnicia*; and they were most probably introduced into *Phœnicia* from *Syria*, and the *Syrians*, *Canaanites*, and *Affyrians*, used originally the same Letters; so that in all Probability they were introduced into all these Nations from one to another, and were earliest at the Place where Mankind separated at the Confusion of Tongues; and from this Place 'tis also likely they were propagated into *Egypt*, and into all other Countries into which any Companies

(a) Lib. de Myseriis, cap. de Deo atque Diis. (b) By the Books of *Taautus*, I suppose are meant Pillars, or Lumps of Earth with Inscriptions on them, Books not being invented in these early Ages.

dispersed from *Shinaar*. I always thought Letters to be of an *Assyrian* Original, said *Pliny* (a); and this was his Opinion after duly considering what all other Writers had offered about them. It is highly reasonable to think that all Arts and Sciences flourished here as much earlier, than in other Parts, as the Inhabitants of these Parts were settled sooner than those that went from them. We have a sufficient Account of the first Kings, and of the ancient History of this Part of the World, to induce us to believe that they began their Annals very early; and we are sure from the Astronomical Observations found at *Babylon* in the time of *Alexander the Great*, which were before mentioned, that they studied here, and recorded such Observations as they made, very few Years after the Dispersion of Mankind; a plain Indication that they had at this time the Use of Letters; and we have no Proofs that they had the Use of them thus early in *Egypt*, or in any other of the Nations derived from the Dispersion of Mankind. *Taautus* is by all Writers held to be the first that used Letters in *Egypt*, and if we suppose him to have used them before he came to be King, when he was Secretary to his Father *Mizraim*, yet still the Use of them must be later in *Egypt* than in *Aj-*

(a) *Hist. Nat.* lib. 7. c. 56.

syria, for they were probably used in the Astronomical Records at *Babylon*, even before *Mizraim* entered *Egypt*. One Thing is here remarkable, namely, that in these Parts, where the early Use of Letters is so capable of being proved, there is no mention of any particular Person's being the Author of them; for the Opinion of *Suidas*, who imagined *Abraham* to be the Author of the *Assyrian* Letters, like that of *Eupolemus* (a) and *Isidorus* (b), who thought *Moses* the Inventer of the *Hebrew* Letters, and of the *Egyptian*, deserve no Confutation. Letters were used in *Assyria*, long before *Abraham* was born, and in *Egypt*, much longer before *Moses*; and the ancient *Hebrew* and *Assyrian* Letters were the same. The true Reason why we meet with no supposed Author of the *Assyrian* Letters, is, I believe, this; Antiquity agreed that Letters were not invented in *Assyria*. Mankind had lived above 1600 Years before the Flood, and 'tis not probable they lived without the Use of Letters, for if they had, how should we have had the short Annals which we have of the first World? If they had Letters, it is likely that *Noah* was skilled in them, and taught them to his Children. In the early Ages, when

(a) Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 26.
c. 3.

(b) Origines l. 1.

Mankind were but few, and those few employ'd in all manner of Contrivances for Life, it could be but here and there one that had Leisure or perhaps Inclination to study Letters; and yet it is probable that there were too many that understood them amongst the People who remained at *Shinaar*, to prevent any Rumour of a single Person's inventing them. The Companies that removed from *Shinaar* into the other Parts of the World, were but rude and uncultivated People, who followed some Persons of Figure and Eminence, who had gain'd an Ascendant over them, and hence it might come to pass, that when they had separated their People from the rest of Mankind, and came to teach them the Arts they were Masters of, all they taught them pass'd for Inventions of their own, because they knew no other Persons skilled in them. But at *Shinaar* there were several eminent Persons who lived subject to *Nimrod*, and who understood and were Masters of the several Arts and Sciences which Mankind enjoy'd together, before some of the Great and Leading Men made Parties for themselves, and separated in order to disperse over the World; and therefore, tho' we here meet with a reported Author, when any new Science was invented, as *Belus* was imagined to be Author of their Astronomy; yet in the case of Letters, in which there

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was nothing new, nothing but what several amongst them, and many that were gone from them were very well skilled in, there could arise no Account of any one Person amongst them being the Author or Inventer of them.

There is one Consideration more which makes it very probable that the Use of Letters came from *Noah*, and out of the first World, and that is the Account which the *Chinese* give of their Letters. They assert their first Emperor, whom they call *Foby*, to be the Inventer of them; before *Foby* they have no Records, and their *Foby* and *Noah* were the same Persons. *Noah* came out of the Ark in these Parts of the World, and the Letters used here were derived from him; and it happened here, as it afterwards did in other Parts of the World, *Noah* being the sole Instructor of his Descendants, what he taught them was by After-ages reported to be his own Invention, tho' he himself had learned it from those who lived before him. Bishop *Walton* offers Arguments to prove that the *Chinese* had not the earliest Use of Letters, but all his Arguments arise from a Supposal that the Ark rested in *Armenia*, and that Mankind lived in *Assyria* soon after the Flood, and before they came to *China*, which I have proved not likely to be true.

We can carry our Enquiry into the Original of Letters no higher. *Pliny* in one Place hints them to have been supposed to be Eternal; but that Opinion must (a) either be founded upon the erroneous Notion of the World's being Eternal, or can mean no more than that the first Men invented them. Some of the *Rabbins* ascribe them to *Adam*, and some to *Abel*, but they have nothing to offer that is to be depended on. But surprizingly odd is the Whim of some of the *Jewish* Doctors, who affirm ten Things to have been created on the Evening of the first Sabbath, namely, the Rain-bow; the Hole of the Rock, out of which the Water flow'd; the Pillar of the Cloud and of Fire, which afterwards went before the *Israelites*; the two Tables on which the Law was written; *Aaron's Rod*, and Letters; but this sort of Trash needs no Confutation,

*Turpe est difficiles habere Nugas,
Et Stultus Labor est Ineptiarum.*

If we consider the Nature of Letters, it cannot but appear something strange, that an Invention so surprizing as that of Writing is, should have been found out in Ages so near the Beginning of the World. Nature may easily be supposed to have

(a) *Pliny* hints it only from the Supposal of some Persons imagined to be very ancient having used them. Lib. 7. c. 56.

prompted Men to speak, to try to express their Minds to one another by Sounds and Noises; but that the Wit of Man should, amongst its first Attempts, find out a way to express Words in Figures, or Letters, and to form a Method, by which they might expose to view all that can be said or thought, and that within the Compass of sixteen, or twenty, or four and twenty Characters, variously placed, so as to form Syllables and Words; I say, to think that any Man could immediately and directly fall upon a Project of this Nature, exceeds the highest Notion we can have of the Capacity we are endued with. We have great and extraordinary Abilities of Mind, and we experience that by Steps and Degrees we can advance our Knowledge, and make almost all Parts and Creatures of the World of use and service to us; but still all these things are done by Steps and Degrees. A first Attempt has never yet perfected any Science or Invention whatever. The Mind of Man began to exert itself as soon as ever it was set on thinking; and we find, the first Men attempted many of the Arts, which After-ages carried forwards to Perfection; but they only attempted them, and attained no further than to leave imperfect Essays to those that came after. The first Men, tho' they had formed a Language to be understood
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by, yet certainly never attained to an Elegancy of Speaking. *Tubal-Cain* was the first Artificer in Brass-work and Iron, but without doubt his best Performances were very ordinary, in comparison of what has been done by later Artists. The Arts of Building, Painting, Carving, and many others, were attempted very early; but the first Tryals were only Attempts; Men arrived at Perfection by degrees; Time and Experience led them on from one thing to another, until by having try'd many ways, as their different Fancies at different Times happened to lead them, they came to form better Methods of executing what they aimed at, than at first they thought of. And thus, without doubt, as it happened in the Affair of Letters: Men did not at first hit upon a Method extremely artificial, but began with something easy and plain, simple, and of no great Contrivance, such as Nature might very readily suggest to them.

And, if I may be allowed to make some Conjectures upon this Subject, I should offer, that it is not probable, that the first Inventers of Letters had any Alphabet, or set Number of Letters, or any Notion of describing a Word by such Letters as should spell, and thereby express the Sound of it. The first Letters were, more likely, Strokes, or Dashes, by which the Writers mark'd down, as their Fancies led them,

them, the Things they had a mind to record; and one Stroke, or Dash, without any Notion of expressing a Sound or Word by it, was the Mark of a whole Action, or perhaps of a Sentence. When the first Man began to speak, he had only, as I before hinted, to fix to himself, and to teach others to know by what particular Sounds he had a mind to express the things which he had to speak of: In the same manner, whenever Mankind formed the first Thoughts of Writing, he that formed them had only to determine, by what particular Marks he would express the Things or Actions he had a mind to mark down; and all this he might do, without having any Notion of expressing a Sound, or Word, by the Characters he made. We have amongst us, in frequent Use, Characters which are as significant as Letters, and yet have no Tendency to express this or that particular Sound; for Instance, our Numeral Letters, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. express, as clearly as the Words themselves could do, the Numbers intended by them, and they no more spell One, Two, Three, Four, Five, than they do *Unum, Duo, Tria, Quatuor*; or the Greek Works for them, *έν, δύο, τρία, τέσσαρα, &c.* Our Astronomical Characters are of the same sort, ☉, ♃, ♄, ♀, ♂, ♁, ♃; with many others that might be named, and are at Sight intelligible to Persons of different Nations, and
who

who would read them into Words of different Sounds, as each of their Languages would direct them. Such as these probably were the Letters of the first Men; they had no notion of Spelling, and expressing the Sound of Words, but made a few Marks to be the Signs of the Things which they had a mind to write down, and which might be easily understood by those that made them, and by as many others as would take the Pains to learn their Character. This is what Nature would directly lead to, in the first Attempts of Writing. There could be no Notion of Spelling, nor any Thought of a set Number of Letters; for Men could hardly have a Thought of these, until Language came to be considerably improved; until they had view'd on all sides the Nature of their Words, and found out how many sorts of Sounds were required to express them. If we look amongst the ignorant Persons which are now-a-days in the World, we may see enough to shew us, what the first Attempts of Nature would be, and what is owing to Improvement. There are many Persons in the World, who, not having been taught either to Write or Read, have no Notion of Spelling, and yet can, by their Natural Parts, form themselves a Character, and with a Piece of Chalk record, for their own Use, all that they have occasion to mark down in their Affairs. I

have been told of a Country Farmer of very considerable Dealings, who was able to keep no other Book, and yet carried on a Variety of Business in Buying and Selling, without Disorder or Confusion: He chalk'd upon the Walls of a large Room set apart for that Purpose, what he was obliged to remember of his Affairs with divers Persons; and if we but suppose, that some of his Family were instructed in his Marks, there is no Difficulty in conceiving, that he might this way, if he had died, have left a very clear State of his Concerns to them. Something of this sort is like the first Essay of Nature, and thus, without doubt, wrote the first Men. It was Time and Improvement that led them to consider the Nature of Words, to divide them into Syllables, and to form a Method of spelling them by a Set of Letters.

If we look amongst the *Chinese* (a) we find in Fact what I have been treating of. They have no Notion of Alphabetical Letters, but make use of Characters to express their Meaning. Their Characters are not design'd to express Words, for they are used by several neighbouring Nations who differ in Language; nor are there any set Number or Collection of them, as one would imagine Art and Contrivance

(a) Alvar. Seved. Walton. Prolegom.

would, at one Time or another, have reduced them to; but the *Chinese* still write in a manner as far from Art, as one can conceive the first Writer to have invented. They have a Mark for every Thing or Action they have to write of, and not having contrived to use the same Mark for the same Thing, with some common Distinctions for the accidental Circumstances that may belong to it, every little Difference of Time, Manner, Place, or any other Circumstance, causes a new Mark, so that tho' their Words are but few, their Letters are innumerable (a). We have in *Europe*, as I before hinted, Characters to express Numbers by, which are not designed to stand for any particular Sounds, or Words; but then, we have artificially reduced them to a small Number. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and the Cypher 0, will express all Numbers that can possibly be conceived. Without doubt the *Chinese* Character might be contracted by a proper Method, but the Writing of this People, as well as their Language, has had little Improvement. When Mankind began first to make their Marks for Things, having but few Things to mark down, they easily found Marks

(a) *Their Letters are 60, 80, or 120000, says Walton; 54409 say other Writers; and Le Compte says, that he is no learned Man amongst them that does not understand 15 or 20000 of their Letters.*

enow for them: As they grew further acquainted with the World, and wanted more Characters, they invented them, and the Number encreasing by degrees, it might cause no great Trouble to Persons who were skilled in the received Characters, and had only to learn the new ones, as they were invented; but it is strange that a Nation should go on in this Method for thousands of Years, as the *Chinese* have really done; one would think, that it must easily be foreseen to what a troublesome Number their Letters must in time grow, and that a Sense of the common Convenience should, at one time or other, have put them upon trying to reduce them; but we find in fact they have not done it. The *Chinese* report their Letters to have been invented by *Fohy*, or *Noah*; and in reality both their Letters and their Language seem so odd, that they might well pass for the Invention of the early and uncultivated Ages of Mankind. Without doubt the *Chinese* have added to the Number of their Letters, since the time of their Emperor *Fohy*, and probably altered the Sound of their old Words, and made some new ones; but they differ so remarkably, both in Writing and Language, from the rest of Mankind, that I can't but think them the Descendants of Men that never came to *Shinaar*, and who had no Concern or

Communication with those who were thence dispersed, by the Confusion of *Babel*, over the Face of the Earth.

We have no Remains, nor so much as any Hints in ancient Writers, to induce us to imagine, that this sort of Writing was ever used by any of the Nations that were dispersed from *Babel*. We read of no Letters on this side *India* truly ancient, but what were designed to express the Words of the People that wrote them. *Laertius* (a) indeed seems to hint that the *Babylonians* had anciently a sacred Character, different from the Letters in common Use: And *Eusebius* (b) from *Philobiblius* represents *Sanchoniaton* to have search'd Records wrote in a Character of this sort. The Sacred Letters of *Egypt* are frequently mentioned: There were two Pillars inscribed in this sort of Letters, at the Tomb of *Isis* and *Osiris*; and *Strabo* speaks of a Pillar in Memory of *Sesoftris* (c), which had these Characters cut upon it; and the Remains of *Thyoth* were without doubt written in this Character (d). If we consider that *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* mention only two sorts of Letters, the Sacred and Common Letters (e); and that *Clemens Alexandrinus*;

(a) Burnet. Archæolog. p. 86. (b) Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 9.
 (c) Lib. 16. (d) Euseb. Chron. (e) Herodotus in Euterpe.
 Diodorus Lib. 1.

and *Porphyry*, and the later Writers, who take in the Hieroglyphics, mention (a) three sorts; it will perhaps induce us to imagine, with *Dr. Burnet* (b), that the Sacred Letters of the *Egyptians* were different from their Hieroglyphics, and that the Hieroglyphics were not in use in the first Times. It is true, *Diodorus* (c), by his Description of the Sacred Letters, makes them to be Hieroglyphics; but I imagine that he happened to do so, because Hieroglyphics being in use before his Time, and the Sacred Letters, which were distinct from them, being then wholly laid aside, he knew of but two Sorts, the Hieroglyphics, and the Common Letters; and so took the Sacred Letters which he found mentioned by those that wrote before him, to be the Hieroglyphics. But *Porphyry* (d) very evidently distinguishes them one from the other: He calls the Sacred Letters, Ἱερογλυφικὰ κοινολογούμενα κατὰ μίμησιν and the Common Hieroglyphics, Συμβολικὰ ἀλληγορούμενα κατὰ τινὰς Ἀνιγμῆς. It is indeed something difficult to apprehend how Letters can be said to Imitate the Things designed by them; however we find this was an ancient Notion. *Plato* puts it into the Mouth of *Socrates* (e).

(a) *Strom.* l. 5. *Porph. de Vita Pythag.* p. 185.

(b) *Archæolog.* (c) *Lib.* 3. (d) *In Lib. de vit. Pythag.*

(e) *In Cratylō.*

But tho' for these Reasons, I imagine that there was an ancient Character in *Egypt*, distinct from both the vulgar Letters, and common Hieroglyphics; yet I cannot think, with Dr. *Burnet*, that it was like the Letters used in *China*. The *Chinese* Letters express no Words, or particular Sounds whatsoever; but the old *Egyptian* Letters did, as appears plainly from the Account we have (a) of *Agathodæmon's* translating them. The Remains of *Thyoth* were Inscriptions on Pillars [*ἑηλῶν, ἱεραῖα διαλέκτῳ καὶ ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασι κεχαρκτηρισμένων.*] written upon, in the Sacred Language, and Sacred Characters: and *Agathodæmon* translated them, [*ἐκ τῆς ἱεραῖας διαλέκτῳ εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς.*] out of the Sacred Language, into the Greek Tongue, in Sacred Letters, i. e. he changed the Language, but used the same Letters in which *Thyoth* wrote (b). Here therefore we see,

see,

(a) Euseb. in Chron. (b) Bishop Stillingfleet, and several other Writers, translate *ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασιν*, Hieroglyphic Characters; and the learned Bishop remarks upon the Passage as follows: "It is well still, that this History should be translated into Hieroglyphic Characters; What kind of Translation is that? We had thought Hieroglyphics had been Representations of Things, and not of Sounds and Letters, or Words. How could this History at first have been written in any Tongue, when it was in Hieroglyphics? Do Hieroglyphics speak in several Languages? And are they capable of changing their Tongues?" The Reader will easily observe from this Remark, that *ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασιν*, in the Passage before us, should be translated, not Hieroglyphics,

see, that the Sacred Letters were capable of being used to express the Words of different Languages, and were therefore not like the *Chinese*, or of the same sort with the first Letters of Mankind, which expressed no Words at all. *Plato* (a) says, that *Tkyoth* was the first that distinguished Letters into Vowels, and Consonants, and Mutes, and Liquids, and was the Author of the Art of Grammar. I doubt these Improvements are more modern than the times of *Tkyoth*; however, *Plato's* Opinion in this Matter is an Evidence that there was no Notion in his Days of *Tkyoth's* using any other than Alphabetical Letters.

The Use of Alphabetical Letters therefore began very early in the second World, probably not long after the Dispersion of Mankind; for the Records of the *Chaldean* Astronomy reach almost up to this Time, and *Tkyoth's* inscribing Pillars was not above two Centuries later. Alphabetical Letters were perhaps invented both in *Affyria* and in *Egypt*, and to one or other of these two Nations all other Countries are indebted for the Use of them. We find the great Project at *Babel*, next to the building of the Tower, was the Improvement of Language; for

roglyphics, but Sacred Letters, and then the Sense will be clear and easy. (a) In *Philebo.* p. 374.

this caused the Confusion which scattered Mankind over the Face of the Earth; and if the Course they took in this Affair was such as I imagined, namely, an Attempt to dissolve the Monosyllables, of which the first Language of Mankind consisted, into Words of various Lengths, in order to furnish themselves with new Sets of Names for new Things; it may be conceived, that a Project of this sort might by degrees lead to the Invention of Alphabetical Letters. It is not likely that they immediately hit upon an Alphabet, but they made Attempts, and came to it by degrees.

If we look into the *Hebrew Tongue*, which, before it was improved, was perhaps the original Language of the World, we shall find, that its Dissyllables are generally two Monosyllable Words put together: Thus the Word *Barab*, to Eat, is only *Bar*, the old Word for *Beer*, to declare; and *Rab*, the old Word for *Raab*, to see; so the Word *Kashash*, to gather, is only the Word *Kash*, which signifies *Straw*, and *Sash*, to rejoice; *Ranah*, to be moved, is only the old Word *Ran*, which was afterwards wrote *Ranan*, to be evil; and *Nain*, which was anciently wrote *Nan*, to direct the Eye; *Abah*, to be willing, is made of two Words, *Ab*, a Father, and *Bah*, the old Word for *Bobu*, for our *Lexicons* derive *Bobu* from
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an ancient Word *Bab*, or *Babah*. This Observation may, I believe, be carried thro' the whole Language; there is hardly an *Hebrew* Diffyllable, except such only as were anciently pronounced Monosyllables, or such as are derived from some Theme, and made up of the Letters of that Theme, with some additional Affix, but what are plainly and evidently two Words (*i. e.* two significant Sounds) join'd together; and I dare say, Instances of this kind are not to be found in any of the modern Languages. This therefore was the Method which Men took to make Words of more Syllables than one, they joined together their Monosyllables, and that afforded a new Set of Words for the enlarging their Language; and if this may be allowed me, it will, I think, lead us to the first Step taken towards altering the first Characters of Mankind. As they only doubled their Sounds, so they might at first only repeat their Marks, and the two Marks put together, which singly were the Characters of the single Words, were the first way of writing the double ones; and this I think must bring them a very considerable Step towards the contriving a Method of making Letters to stand for Sounds, and not for Things. When Men spake in Monosyllables only, and made such Marks for the Things they spoke of, as the Fancy of the first Author had

had invented, and Custom had made familiar, to all that used them, they might go on as the *Chinese* have, and never think of making their Marks stand for the Words they spoke, but rather for the Things they meant to express by them; but when they once came to think of doubling or joining their Marks, in a manner that should accord with the Composition of their Words, this would evidently lead them to consider strictly, that as Sounds may be made the Means of expressing our Thoughts, by agreeing to use particular Sounds for such Thoughts as we would express by them; so also may Characters be made the Marks of particular Sounds, by agreeing what Character shall be used for one Sound, and what for another. To give an Instance from some one of the Words I have before mentioned: Suppose *Kashash* to be the new invented Word, designed to signify what we call *to gather*, and suppose this new Word to be made by agreeing, as I said, to put two known Words together, *Kash*, the Word for *Straw*, and *Sash*, *to rejoice*; and suppose the ancient Character for *Kash* was 𠄎, and for *Sash* was 𠄎, the Character then for *Kashash* would be 𠄎𠄎. Here then it would be remarkable, that the Reader, however he might not observe it, when he met either of these Characters single, yet he could

not

not but see, when he met them together, that each of them stood in the compound Word, for a Sound, and not for a Thing; for the two Sounds, one of which each Character was to express, were, when put together, to signify a very different Thing from those, which each of them single would have offered. If Language therefore was altered as I have hinted, which looks very probable from considering the Nature of the *Hebrew* Dissyllables; and if this Alteration of Language led to such a Duplication of Character as I have imagined, which is a Method very easy and natural for Men to fall into, we may see that they would be engaged in making Characters stand for Sounds before they were aware of it, and they could hardly do so long, before they must consider it, and if they came once to consider it, they would go on apace from one thing to another; they would observe how many Sounds the Words they had in use might be compounded of, and be hereby led to make as many Characters as they could frame single Sounds, into which all others might be resolved, and this would lead them directly to an Alphabet.

It is pretty certain, that various Nations, from a difference of Pronunciation, or from the different Turn of Imagination that is always found in different Men, would

would hardly, tho' agreeing in a general Scheme for the framing their Letters, yet happen to frame an Alphabet exactly the same, in either Shape or Number of Letters; and this we find true in fact: The *Arabian* and *Persian* Alphabet have such a Similitude, that they were probably derived one from the other. And the old *Hebrew* and *Arabian* (and perhaps the old *Egyptian*) Characters agree in so many Respects, as to give Reason to imagine that they were formed from one common Plan; tho' they certainly so differ in others, that we can't but think that the Authors of them sat down and formed, tho' upon a common Scheme, yet in their own way, in the Countries which they planted. It is very probable, that there may have been in the World several other Alphabets very different from these. I think I have read of a Country in *India*, where they use an Alphabet of sixty five Letters; and *Diodorus Siculus* (a) informs us, that in the Island of *Taprobane*, which we now call *Ceylon*, they anciently used but seven; but perhaps the Reader may be better informed in this Matter, if he consults some Books which Bishop *Walton* (b) directs to, and which I have not had opportunity of seeing, viz. *Postellus de 12 Linguis, Du-*

(a) Lib. 2.

(b) Prolegom.

retus de Linguis & Characteribus omnium Linguarum; the Alphabetical Tables of various Characters, published at *Francfort* 1596; and *Ja. Bonav. Hepburn's* Seventy Alphabets, published at *Rome* 1616.

The Characters which are now commonly used in *Europe* being, as I have said, derived from the ancient *Latin*; the ancient *Latin* from the old *Greek* Letters; the *Greek* Letters from the *Phœnician*; and the *Phœnician*, *Syrian*, ancient *Hebrew*, and *Assyrian*, having been much the same, I could willingly, before I close this *Essay*, add a few *Observations* upon each of these in their Order.

And I. The ancient *Hebrew* Alphabet was not wrote in the present *Hebrew* Character, but in a Letter pretty much the same as the present *Samaritan*. *Buxtorf* and *Lightfoot* were not of this Opinion; but it has been abundantly proved by *Scaliger*, *Casaubon*, *Grotius*, *Vossius*, *Bochart*, *Father Morin*, *Breerwood*, *Capellus*, and *Walton*. *Bishop Walton* has proved it beyond Contradiction, from some ancient *Jerusalem* Coins, called *Shekels* (a). The *Rabbins*, *Talmudists*, *Christian Fathers*, *Origen* and *St. Jerom*, all believed that

(a) De Siclorum Formis, in Prolegom. 3. § 29, 30. See *Dr. Prideaux's Connect.* Vol. I. Book 5. p. 496.

there had been a Change of the *Hebrew* Letters. *St. Jerom* asserts it very expressly (a). *Spanheim* and *Dr. Allix* took the other side of the Question, but they have answered only a small Part of the Arguments against them. This Change of the *Hebrew* Letters was made by *Exra*, after the rebuilding the Temple, when he wrote out a new Copy of the Law.

The old *Hebrew* Letters were wrote in this (b) manner.

3 5 W I K I 6 H H 3 E 9 7 9 N
N W 9 P M 3 0

Like to these were the *Syrian*, and *Phœnician*; the best Copy we can take of the old *Phœnician*, must be had from *Scaliger*, and are wrote thus:

3 5 W I K I 6 H H 3 E 9 7 9 N
N W 9 P M 3 0 3 5

From the *Phœnician* were derived the ancient *Greek* Letters, which, according

(a) In Præfat. ad Lib. Regum. (b) There is no Reason to think the first and most ancient Hebrew Alphabet had thus many Letters. *Irenæus* says expressly, *Ipsæ antiquæ & primæ Hebræorum Litteræ, & Sacerdotiales nuncupatæ, decem quidem sunt Numero.*

to the most ancient Specimen we have of them, were thus written:

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Η Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ

16 α β γ δ ε β ι κ λ μ ν ο π ρ σ τ

These were probably the first Letters of the *Greek* Alphabet, which originally were no more than sixteen (*a*). Some time after, these following Letters were added;

F I ⊕ Υ ϕ †
f ζ θ υ φ χ

for we find all these in the ancient *Sigean* Inscription, published by Dr. *Chishull*.

The *Greek* Letters were not anciently wrote from the Left Hand to the Right, as we now write them, but from the Right Hand to the Left, as the *Hebrew* and *Phœnicians* wrote; and then the Letters being inverted, had a nearer Resemblance to the *Phœnician* Character, from whence they were taken, being wrote thus (*b*):

Τ ρ ρ γ ο υ μ ν κ ι η ε δ λ β α

(*a*) Euseb. in Chron. Num. 1617. (*b*) We have Instances of this way of Writing in the Etruscan Monuments, and upon some Æolic Coins.

In time the *Greeks* left off writing from the Right to the Left in part, and retained it in part; that is, they began one Line from Left to Right, the next from Right to Left, the third from Left to Right, &c. This they called writing *βε-σεφονδόν*, or, as Oxen plough; the Lines in this way of writing being drawn in the manner of Furrows. *Pausanias* mentions an Inscription wrote in this manner (c), namely, that on the Chest of *Cypselus* in the Temple of *Juno* at *Corinth*. *Periander*, the Son of *Cypselus*, is supposed to be the Person who inscribed it. The Laws of *Solon* were wrote in this manner (d). And *Chishull's Sigean* Inscription is a compleat Specimen of this sort of Writing.

The Letter H in the old *Greek* Alphabet, did not found what we now call *h*, but was an Aspirate like the *English* H. This was proved by *Athenæus* (e), and has been since further evidenced by *Spanheim*, from several ancient Coins (f); and there are no less than four Instances of it in the *Sigean* Inscription.

The Letters E and O were anciently wrote in the same Characters, whether

(c) *Pausanias*, Lib. 5. c. 17. (d) See *Suid.* & *Harpocrat.* in ὁ κατὰ δεξιὰ νόμος. (e) *Athenæi Deipnosophist.* l. 9. c. 12. (f) *Spanheim*, de præstant. & usu numism. antiq. Dissert. 2. p. 95.

they were long or short Vowels; for the ancient Alphabet had neither *η*, nor (a) *ω*. *Simonides* was the Person that invented these two long Vowels (b). The *Ionians* first used them, which occasioned *Suidas* to call them *Ionian Letters* (c). The *Athenians* came into them by degrees, and they were ordered to be used in the publick Inscriptions when *Euclid* was *Archon*. Before *ω* came into use, *οι* was wrote for *ω*, in the Dative Case singular of Nouns (d).

The ancient Alphabet having at first no *υ*, *ϝ* in the Genitive Case was constantly wrote *ο*: This appears both from *Quintilian* and *Athenæus*. *Athenæus*, in his *Convivium* (e), introduces *Achæus* remarking that *Διονύσο* was wrote upon an ancient Cup, whereupon all the Sophists determined that the Letter *υ* was omitted, because the Ancients wrote *ο* instead of *ϝ*. *Quintilian* (f) remarks, that *ο* was anciently used sometimes for a long Vowel, sometimes for a short Vowel, and sometimes for a Syllable, that is, for the Diphthong *ϝ*.

We come now to the Letters that have been taken into the *Greek Alphabet*; and

(a) See Plato in *Cratylus*. (b) *Suidas* in *Simonide*. (c) *Id.* in *Σαμίων ὁ Δῆμ.Θ.* (d) See *Scholias*t. in *Euripid.* in *Phœniss.* v. 688. And there are two Instances of it in the *Inscriptions on the Theban Tripods*. (e) *Lib.* 11. c. 5. (f) *De Institut. Orator.* l. 1. c. 7.

the first of them is **F** : this is a Character which is not now found in it; it was invented by the *Æolians*, who avoided having two Vowels come together in a Word, by inserting this **F** where they happened to do so; they called it a *Di-gamma*, and the Sound or Power of it was much the same as our *English f*: *Pri-scian* gives several Instances of it; in the Word *δαίον*, wrote *δαΐFiFον*; *Δημόφοον*, wrote *ΔημόφοFον*; *Λαόκοον*, wrote *ΛαFo-κοFον*; and we have a remarkable Instance of it in the Inscription on the Pedestal of the *Colossus* at *Delos* (a), where *αΐFυτο* is wrote for *αυτο*; but the Inscription being a short one, and the Letters being truly ancient, ο being used for ε, according to what has been observed, I shall here transcribe it:

(b) Ο Α F V Τ Ο ΛΙΘΟΕΜΙΑΚΑΡΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΣΦΕΛΑΣ

i. e. ε̃ α̃υτ̃ε̃ λιθ̃ε̃ ει̃μι̃ αν̃δ̃ε̃ια̃ς η̃ το̃ σφε̃λα̃ς

The **F** was probably derived from the Hebrew or Phœnician *Vau*, which was thus written : **F**

(a) Montfaucon. Palaiograph. Græca. l. 2. c. 1. p. 121.

(b) I imagine that the Letter T at the Beginning of this Line must have been worn out when Copies were taken of it, and that it began τ̃ε̃ α̃υτ̃ε̃, and not ε̃ α̃υτ̃ε̃.

The Letter V, or *v*, tho' an asciti-
 tious Letter, was certainly in the *Greek*
 Alphabet very early, evidently before the
 Times of this Pedestal, or of the *Sigean*
 Stone. It is used on the Pedestal of the
Colossus for the Vowel *u* in the Word
αFυτο; but I fancy it was designed origi-
 nally for a softer *Digamma*, as the Con-
 sonant *v* is softer than *f*. We have In-
 stances of this in some *Greek* Words, and
 'tis remarkable that the *Latins* took it so,
 and have for that reason put the V for the
Greek F, in the Words they have taken
 out of the one Tongue into the other.
 This may be observed in the Words "Aog-
 ν@, anciently wrote "AFορν@, in *Latin*, *A-*
vernus; and 'Αργειοι, *Argivi*. We find in
Priscian, δαFιον, or δάvιον, for δήιον, the
 first the most ancient way, and the second
 perhaps after the softer V came into use.
 He gives another Instance in the Word
 ήως, wrote άvως. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*
 observes, that οvέλια was anciently wrote
Fέλια (a), and in *Latin* we write it *Velia*.

Z was thought by *Pliny* to be an ori-
 ginal Letter of the *Greek* Alphabet; and
 he quotes *Aristotle* in Proof of it (b).
Scaliger derives it from the *Hebrew* or
Phœnician Zain, and thinks it was ano-
 ther γ, from its being wrote in a Word in

(a) *Dion. Halicar.* l. 1. c. 20. (b) *Plin.* l. 7. c. 56.

Dan. i. 8. (a). I should rather think it one of *Simonides*, or *Palamedes's* Letters, it being commonly used as a double Consonant, and stands for $\Sigma\Delta$, or $\Delta\Sigma$, as is evident from $\Sigma\delta\delta\upsilon\varsigma$, and $\Delta\sigma\delta\upsilon\varsigma$, being two ancient Words for $Z\delta\upsilon\varsigma$.

Θ , Φ , χ , are allowed to be *Palamedes's* Letters, and are only *Cadmus's* T , Π , X , aspirated, and were probably at first wrote TH , ΠH , KH (b).

There are two Letters more belonging to the *Greek* Alphabet, ξ and ψ . These are only two Consonants put together, and if *Palamedes* was not the Author of them, are certainly later than *Cadmus*. ξ is only $\kappa\varsigma$, or $\gamma\varsigma$; ψ is only $\pi\varsigma$, or $\beta\varsigma$; this has been observed and proved from several Instances in the *Baudelotian* Marble; and there is such an Analogy between the Genitive Cases of Nouns and their Nominatives, and the Future Tenses of Verbs and their Present Tenses, that the spelling of the one shews evidently how the other were anciently written; thus $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\phi\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ came from the ancient Nominatives $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\iota\varsigma$, and $\phi\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\varsigma$; and $\acute{o}\pi\iota\varsigma$ and $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\iota\varsigma$ were the ancient Words instead of $\acute{o}\psi$ and $\phi\lambda\epsilon\psi$, as appears from their Genitives $\acute{o}\pi\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\phi\lambda\epsilon\psi$.

(a) Digress. ad num. Euseb. 1617. (b) There are several Instances of this in the Inscriptions on the Theban Tripods, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\eta\kappa\epsilon$ is twice wrote ANETHEKE, and χ is wrote KH in two Words, viz. in $\pi\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$, and in $\mu\epsilon\nu\chi\epsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$ and ϕ is wrote ΠH , in the Word Ἀμφίτροϋων .

εὐς; κατήλιψ, κατήλιφϞ; and εἶξ, εἶχὸς, shew that ψ is sometimes used for φς, and ξ for χς.

The *Greek* Alphabet did thus in time grow from sixteen to twenty-four Letters; they were never reckoned more; so that the *F* and *V* must be counted to be but one and the same, for so they were originally; and these four and twenty were received and used, according to *Eusebius*, 1617 Years after the Birth of *Abraham*, in the Year after the Overthrow of the *Athenian* Power (*a*). Now the Surrender of *Athens* to the *Lacedæmonians* happening the Year before the (*b*) Magistracy of *Euclid*, this agrees perfectly well with the Account of *Suidas*, who supposes the twenty-four Letters to be received at *Athens*, by the Persuasion of *Archinous* the Son of *Athenæus*, when *Euclid* was *Archon* at *Athens* (*c*).

The *Greek* Letters did not keep exactly their first Shape, for it is observable that Length of Time introduces Changes into all Characters. We do not make Alterations in our Letters designedly, but accidentally; all Men never did write exactly alike; and hence it has happened, that frequent Mutations are to be found in all ancient Specimens of Letters. And thus

(a) See Chron. Euseb.
Σαμίων ὁ ΔῆμϞ.

(b) Usher's Annals.

(c) Suidas in

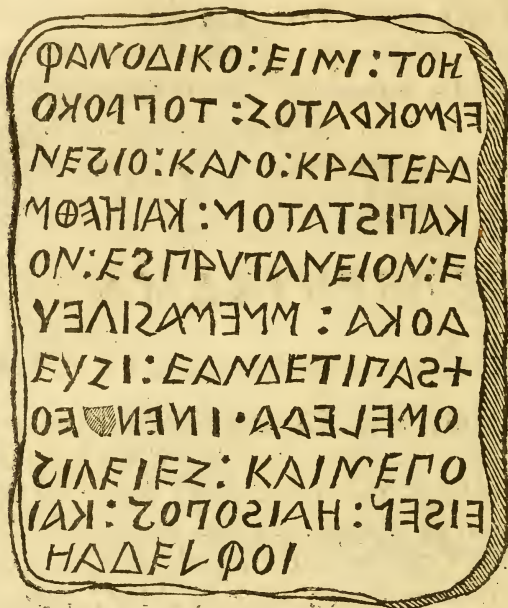
the old *Greek* A was sometimes wrote Λ , and afterwards A ; A was wrote C , and Δ was wrote D ; l was wrote L ; P was wrote R ; S was wrote E ; and V , V ; when the *Greek* Character had received these small Immutations, the old *Roman* Letters might be easily derived from them, for they were thus written:

A B C D E F H I K L M N O P R
S T V

Time, and the Improvement of good Hands, brought the Characters of both Languages to a more exact Shape, as may be seen by comparing the Letters in *Scaliger's* Copy of the Tripods at *Thebes*, and the Inscription on *Herod's* Pillar, with the common *Roman* Letters.

It may perhaps be entertaining to the Reader, to see Copies of some of the ancient Inscriptions: I have therefore taken Copies of the *Sigean*, and of the Inscriptions on the Tripods at *Thebes*, and of that on *Herod's* Pillar, in which the Reader may see Instances of what we have been treating of, if he has not at hand the Works of better Writers.

The Sigean Inscription, and the ancient
Greek Alphabet, according to Dr. Chishull.



In modern Characters thus :

Φανοδίκω εἰμί τῶ
 Ἑρμοκράτης τῶ προκο-
 νησίω. καγὼ κρατῆρα
 καπίστατον καὶ ἠθ-
 μον ἐς πρυτάνειον ἔ-
 δωκα μνήμα σιγεί-
 εὔσι. εἰάν δέ τι πάρα
 ὦ μελεδαίνειν ἔω
 Σιγείεις καὶ μ' ἐποί-
 ησεν ὁ αἰσωπῶ καὶ
 οἱ ἀδελφοί

The Old Greek Alphabet.

Α [Β] Λ Δ Ε [Ζ Η] Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν
 Ο Π Ρ Σ & Ξ Τ Υ Φ Ψ

*The Inscriptions on the Tripods at Thebes,
 from Scaliger.*

ΑΜΦΙΤΡΥΝΟΝ. Μ. ΑΝΕΤΗΚΕΝ.
 ΕΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΕΛΕΒΟΛΟΝ.

i. e. Αμφιτρυών μ' ἀνέθηκεν εὖν ἀπὸ τηλε-
 βοάων.

ΣΚΑΙΟΣ. ΠΝΥΜ ΑΚΗΕΟΝ. ΜΕ.
 ΗΕΚΕΒΟΛΟΙ. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙ.

ΝΙΚΗΣΑΣ. ΑΝΕΤΗΚΕ ΤΕΙΝ ΠΕ
 ΡΙΚΑΛΛΕΣ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ.

i. e. Σκαῖος πνυμαχέων με ἐκηβόλω Ἄ-
 πόλλωνι

Νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλές ἄγαλμα.

ΛΑΟΔΑΜΑΣ. ΤΡΙΠΟΔ ΑΥΤΟΝ.
 ΕΥΣΚΟΠΟΙ. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙ.

ΜΟΝΑΡΚΗΕΟΝ. ΑΝΕΤΗΚΕ
 ΤΕΙΝ. ΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΛΕΣ. ΑΓΑΛΜΑ.

i. e. Λαοδάμας τρίποδ' αὐτὸν εὐσκόπῳ Ἄ-
 πόλλωνι

Μοναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλές ἄ-
 γαλμα.

The

*The Inscription upon Herod's Pillar,
from Dr. Chishull.*

ΟΔΕΝΙ ΘΕΜΙΤΟΝ ΜΕΤΑΚΙΝΗΣΑΙ ΕΚ
ΤΟ ΤΡΙΟΓΙΟ ΗΟ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟ
ΕΝ ΤΕΙ ΗΟΔΟΙ ΤΕΙ ΑΓΓΙΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΕ
ΗΕΡΟΔΟ ΑΥΡΟΙ ΘΑΡ ΛΟΙΟΝ ΤΟΙ
ΚΙΝΗΣΑΝΤΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝ ΕΝΗΟΔΙΑ

This is wrote on one Side of the Pillar ;
on the other Side thus :

ΚΑΙ ΗΟΙ ΚΙΟΝΕΣ ΔΕΜΕΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΡΕΣ
ΑΝΑΘΕΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΘΘΟΝΙΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ.

In modern Greek thus :

ὅδε νὶ θεμιτὸν μετακινήσαι ἐκ τῆς τριοπίου
ὅ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππία ἐν
τῷ Ἡρώδου ἀγρῷ. ἔρδ λώιον τῷ κινήσαντι. Μάρ-
τυς Δαίμων Ἐνοδία. - - - - - καὶ
οἱ κίονες Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης Ἀνάθημα καὶ
χθορίων θεῶν.





The SACRED *and* PROPHANE

HISTORY

Of the WORLD *Connected.*

B O O K V.



WHEN *Atthoes*, *Thyoth*, or *Pathrusim* the King of *Thebais* died, about the Year of the World 2002, he was succeeded in Part of his Dominions by a Person of the same Name; and the other Part was governed by a King named *Cencenes*. The Country of *Thebais* is divided into two Parts by the River *Nile*: *Thyoth*, the second of that Name, governed the Country towards *Asia*; the other Part, which was situate on the other side of the River, was subject to *Cencenes*, and called

called the Kingdom of *This*, from a City of (a) that Name near *Abydos*, which City was the Metropolis of this new-erected Kingdom. The Kings of *This* never raised themselves to any Height of Glory; we have little more of them than their Names. *Atthobes*, the second King of *Thebes*, reigned 32 Years; and *Cencenes*, the first King of *This*, 31. About this time, at *Memphis*, *Mesochis*, *Soiphis*; *Tesfortasis*; and in lower *Egypt*, called the *Land of Tanis*, *Aristarchus* and *Spanius* succeeded one another as Kings of these Countries.

A. M. 2034, when *Atthobes* the second King of *Thebes* died, *Diabies* succeeded him; he reigned nineteen Years, and died A. M. 2053; and the Year before *Diabies* began his Reign, *Venephes* succeeded *Cencenes* at *This*: *Venephes* built some Pyramids in a Plain towards *Libya*, in the Desert of *Cochome* (b). Of the succeeding Kings of *Egypt*, we have nothing but Names, and the Dates of their Reigns, which the Reader may see by consulting Sir *John Marsham*, who has given the most exact Tables of them.

(a) Οἰς τῆς Αἰγυπτίας πόλιν Ἀβύδος. Steph. in θ.

(b) Sir John. Mattham supposes these Pyramids to be in Number 18, of a smaller Size than those which were afterwards reckoned amongst the Wonders of the World. Can. Chron. p. 46.

John Marsham - layman, Eng. died 1685.
 took first pub. under this title -
Diatriba Chronologica. 1649 4^{to}

There

1662 fol.

There was a Family which dwelt amongst the *Babylonians*, and made a considerable Figure in these Ages, and must therefore be particularly mentioned. At the Division of Mankind, Arphaxad, the Son of Shem, lived near the Place which Asbur some time after built for them (a), and which was named Ur of the *Chaldees*. Part of his Family lived here with him: He had two Grandsons, Peleg and Jocktan: Jocktan and his Associates travelled, and were seated from Mesha to Sephar; Peleg and his Descendants lived here at Ur, until the latter end of the Life of Terab, the Father of Abram (b). The *Chaldeans*, who at this time governed this Country, were corrupted in their Religion; and Terab's Ancestors at first complied with them (c), but Terab endeavoured to begin a Reformation, and put his Family upon adhering to the true Worship of God; this caused a Rupture between him and the *Chaldeans*, and occasioned the first Persecution on account of Religion, for the *Chaldeans* drove them out of the Land (d).

Terab hereupon, with Abram, Nabor, and his Sons, and with Lot the Son of Haran (for Haran died before they left Ur) and with as many as would adhere

Abraham
Terah -
Son of N.

Abraham
2. sonage

(a) Vid. Sup. (d) Judith, v. 8.

(b) Gen. xi. 28—31.

(c) Jos. xxiv. 2.

+ Mesha & Sephar countries visible from Babylon & built at Senna

city
Land

to them, travelled, in order to find a more quiet Residence; they crossed over *Mesopotamia*, and settled in the Parts of it most distant from the *Babylonians*; and as they encreased they built themselves Houses, and in time made a little Town or City, which they named the City of *Nabor*; and they called the Land the Land of *Haran*, perhaps in Remembrance of their Relation of that Name, who was dead. Here they lived until the Death of *Terah* (a).

After *Terah's* Death there arose some Difference about Religion amongst them also. *Terah* does not seem to have brought his Family to the true Worship of God; and *Nabor*, who continued in the Land of *Haran* after *Terah* died, appears evidently to have deviated from it. The God of *Abraham* and the God of *Nabor* is so mentioned (b), as to imply a Difference of Religion between *Laban* and *Jacob*, founded upon some different Sentiments of their Fore-fathers; for if their Sentiments about the Deity had been exactly alike, an Oath in the same uniform Expression had been sufficiently binding to both of them, and there had been no need for each to adjure the other, as it were, by his own God: Nay, we are expressly told, that both *Terah* and *Nabor* went a-

(a) Gen. xi. 28.--32. (b) Chap. xxxi. ver. 53.

stray in their Religion, and that for that Reason *Abraham* was ordered to remove from them. *Your Fathers* (says (a) *Joshua*) *dwelt on the other side the Flood, or River, namely Euphrates, i. e. in Mesopotamia, in old time, even Terah the Father of Abram, and the Father of Nabor, and they served other Gods, and I took your Father from the other side the Flood, or River, and led him throughout all the Land of Canaan.* *Abraham* therefore, upon Account of some Defection in his Family from the true Worship of God, upon receiving an Admonition to do so (b), took *Sarah* his Wife, and *Lot* his Brother's Son, and all their Cattle and Substance, and as many Persons as belonged to them, and went away from his Country and Kindred, and Father's House, and travelled into the Land of *Canaan*.

The Land of *Canaan* (c) was at this time possessed by the Descendants of *Canaan* the Son of *Ham*, so that *Abram* was only a Traveller or Sojourner in it. The Earth was not at this time so full of People, but that there was in every Country Ground enough, and to spare, and any Traveller might come with his Flocks and Herds, and find convenient Places enow to sustain himself and Family, without do-

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had they
to inhale
about*

(a) Chap. xxiv. ver. 2. (b) Gen. xii. 1. 4. 6. (c) Ver. 6.

ing Injury to, or receiving Molestation from any Person. Accordingly *Abram* travelled until he came to the Plain of *Moreh* in *Sichem* (a); here it pleased God to repeat a Promise which he had before made him, That he would give all that Land to his Children; upon which *Abram* built an Altar, and worshipped. Some time after he removed thence, to a Mountain between *Bethel* and *Hai* (b); and there he built another Altar. He continued in this Place but a little time, for he kept on travelling to the South, 'till at length there happened a Famine in *Canaan* (c), upon account of which he went to live in *Egypt*. And this is the History of *Abram's* Family, for above 300 Years after the Dispersion of Mankind; and since the first *Æra* or *Epoche* of the *Hebrew* Chronology is commonly made to end here; (for from this Journey of *Abram's* into *Canaan*, they begin the 430 Years, during which time the Children of *Israel* were only Sojourners; having only unsettled Habitations up and down in Kingdoms, not their (d) own;) I shall carry on my History no further in this Volume, but shall only endeavour to fix the Time of these Transactions; and since we have met with Accounts of different Religions, thus ear-

(a) Gen. xii. 7.

(b) Ver. 8.

(c) Ver. 10.

(d) Exod. xii. 40.

ly in the World, I will endeavour to enquire what Religion at this time was, and how and wherein it differed in different Countries.

As to the Time of these Transactions, it is easy to fix them; for first of all, from the Flood to the Birth of *Terah*, the Father of *Abram*, is 222 Years, as may be computed from the Genealogies given us by *Moses*, Gen. xi. (a). And *Terah* lived seventy Years, and begat *Abram*, *Nahor* and *Haran* (b). We must not understand this Passage as if *Terah* had these three Sons when he was seventy Years old, or as if *Abram* was born in the seventieth Year of *Terah's* Life, for *Abram* was but (c) seventy-five Years old when he travelled into *Canaan*, and he did not go into *Canaan* until *Terah's* Death (d), and *Terah* lived to be 205 Years old; so that *Abram* must be born in the 130th Year of his Father's Life. *Haran* might perhaps be born in the seventieth Year of *Terah*, for he was, by many Years, the eldest Son; he had a Daughter (e) *Milcab*, old enough to be Wife to *Nahor* Brother of *Abram*;

How old Terah
when Abram
born? 1

How old Terah
when called
70 Haran
75 Haran

Haran's
son!
Nahor's
niece!

(a) Ver. 10---25. From the Flood to the Birth of Arphaxad, are two Years; thence to the Birth of Salah, 35; thence to the Birth of Eber, 30; thence to the Birth of Peleg, 34; thence to the Birth of Reu, 30; thence to the Birth of Serug, 32; thence to the Birth of Nahor, 30; thence to the Birth of Terah, 2; in all 222 Years. (b) Gen. xi. 26. (c) Chap. xii. Ver. 4.

(d) Chap. xi. 32. Acts vii. 4.

(e) Gen. xi. 29.

and *Lot* the Son of *Haran* seems to have been of much the same Age with *Abram*. The Removal from *Ur* of the *Chaldees* into *Mesopotamia* was in the seventieth Year of *Abram*: for the Promise made to *Abram* was before (a) he dwelt in *Haran*, and it was 430 Years (b) before the Law; but from the Birth of *Isaac* to the Law, was 400 Years (c); and therefore the Promise made at *Ur*, 430 Years before the Law, was made 30 Years before the Birth of *Isaac*, who was born when *Abram* was 100 Years old; so that the Promise made 30 Years before, was when *Abram* was 70, and we must suppose the Removal to *Haran* to be upon this Promise, and much about the Time of it. *Abram* went into *Canaan* when he was 75 Years old (d), *i. e.* five Years after he came to *Haran*. And thus *Abram* was born in the 130th Year of *Terab*, 352 Years after the Flood, *A. M.* 2008, went from *Ur* to *Haran* when he was 70 Years old, *i. e.* 422 Years after the Flood, *A. M.* 2078, he removed into *Canaan* five Years after, *i. e.*

(a) Acts vii. 2. (b) Gal. iii. 17. (c) *Isaac was the Seed to whom the Promise was made, Heb. xi. 18. Gen. xvii. 19. And as he was born in a strange Land, and the Seed was to be a Stranger in a Land not theirs for 400 Years, before God would begin to take Vengeance upon the Nation that oppressed them, Gen. xv. 13, 14. so from hence, to Moses's appearing for the Delivery of the Israelites, will be found to be about 400 Years.*

(d) Gen. xii. 4. ut supr.

427 Years after the Flood, *A. M.* 2083; his going into *Egypt* was probably two or three Years after this, and, according to the Tables of the *Egyptian* Kings of these Times, *Abram's* coming into *Egypt* was about the fifteenth Year of Toegar Amachus, the sixth King of Thebes, and about the tenth Year of Miebidus, the sixth King of This, and about the thirty-third Year of Achis, the sixth King of Memphis. The Name of the King of Lower Egypt, into whose Kingdom *Abram* travelled, is lost, according to *Syncellus*; the Scripture calls him *Pharaoh*, but that is only a general Name belonging to the *Egyptian* Kings. *Africanus* (a) says his Name was Ramessomenes. According to *Castor* (b), Europs, the second King of Sicyon, reign'd at this Time.

who was
- Egypt?

Pharaoh
Name of

who is in

In my Computations beforegoing, I have indeed fixed the Birth of *Abraham* according to the *Hebrew* Chronology, that seeming to me the most Authentic. The Chronology of these Times, both in the Septuagint and Samaritan Versions, is in many Particulars different from the *Hebrew*; and if I had followed either of them, I must have placed the Birth of *Abraham* later than I have done by several hundreds of Years; but there is so little to be said in favour of the Septuagint or Samaritan

(a) In Chron. Euseb.

(b) In cod. ibid.

Chronology, in the Particulars in which it here differs from the *Hebrew*, that I think I shall incur no Blame for not adhering to them. I am not willing to enlarge upon this Subject; the Reader may see it fully treated in *Capellus's Chronologia Sacra*, prefixed to Bishop *Walton's Polyglott Bible*; and he will find in the general, that the *Samaritan* Chronology of this Period is not of a Piece with the rest of the *Samaritan* Chronology, but bears such a Similitude to that of the *Septuagint*, that it may be justly suspected to have been taken from it, to supply some Defect in the *Samaritan* Copy. It was indeed not very carefully transcribed, for it differs in some Particulars; but the Differences are such, as unskilful or careless Transcribers may be supposed to have occasioned.

As to the *Septuagint*, it differs from itself in the different Copies or Editions which we have of it; and the Chronology of these Times, given us from the *Septuagint*, by *Eusebius* and *Africanus*, is so different from what we now find in the printed *Septuagints*, that it is evident that they had seen Copies different from any that are now extant; so that there would be some Difficulty in determining what are the true Numbers of the *Septuagint*, if we were disposed to follow them; but it is of no great Moment to settle which are the

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best Readings, because at last the best is but erroneous, as differing from the *Hebrew* Text, which seems to offer the most authentic Chronology. The Differences between the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Chronology (setting aside the Variations occasioned most probably by Transcribers) may be reduced to two Heads. 1. In the Lives of the Patriarchs, from *Shem* to *Terah*, the *Septuagint* insert 100 Years before the Time at which they had Children, *i. e.* the *Septuagint* make them Fathers 100 Years later than the *Hebrew* Text. 2. The *Septuagint* add a Patriarch not mentioned in the *Hebrew*, namely *Cainan*, making thereby eleven Generations from *Shem* to *Abraham*, instead of ten. As to the former of these Particulars, namely, the Addition of the 100 Years before the Births of the Patriarchs Children, it has been already considered in my Account of the Antediluvian Chronology, Book I. and the Answer that is given there to this Point, will suffice here, and therefore I refer the Reader to it, to avoid repeating what is there set down at large. 2. As to *Cainan's* being one of *Abraham's* Ancestors, as the *Septuagint* suppose, great Strefs is laid upon it by some learned Men; they observe, that *Cainan's* Name is inserted in the Genealogy of our Saviour, *Luke* iii. which, they say, would not have been done, if the *Septuagint* were not right in

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3^d Heb: Cai
Thinking
from them
Abraham!

this Particular; for St. *Luke* being an inspired Writer, would not have inserted a Particular that is false, differing in it at the same time from the *Hebrew* Scriptures.

+ Father *Harduin* (a) is in great Difficulties about this Point; for finding *Cainan* omitted in the vulgar *Latin* Translation in *Genesis*, and inserted in the same Translation in *Luke*, and the Council of *Trent* having decreed, under Pain of *Anathema*, That all the Books of the Scriptures are in all Points and Particulars to be received, as they are set forth in that particular Translation, he thinks himself obliged to defend both the Omission of *Cainan* in the one Place, and the Infertion of him in the other, and at the same time to make it out that *Salab* was born in the thirty fifth Year of *Arphaxad*, according to *Genesis* xi. 12, which he does in the following manner; 1. He says, *Arphaxad* and *Cainan* were very incontinent Persons, and married more early than usual; and that *Cainan* was born when his Father *Arphaxad* was but eighteen Years old; and that *Salab* was born when his Father *Cainan* was but seventeen: So that *Salab*, tho' not the Son, yet the Descendant of *Arphaxad*, was born when his Grandfather *Arphaxad* was but thirty-five. 2. He thinks

(a) Chronolog. Vet. Test. p. 27.

not Jesuit mid: 17th cent?
Thought all ant^q mod: forgeries

...itate sua iudicio humani delirio senta

Moses omitted *Cainan's* Name, being desirous not to expose him and his Father for marrying so soon, and therefore put down *Selab* as descended from *Arphaxad*, in the thirty-fifth Year of his Life, which he really was, tho' not immediately as his Son, yet really descended of him, being his Grandson: But, 3. *St. Luke* puts in *Cainan's* Name, and he says he might very well do it, because not mentioning the Times of their Nativities in his Genealogy, he did not hereby expose *Cainan* or *Arphaxad*, for their Fault before mentioned. And thus the learned Men of the Church of *Rome* are forced to labour to cover the Blunders, and palliate the Errors of their Church; and thus it will always happen, where foolish and erroneous Positions are established by Canons and Decrees. Some Men of Learning will have a Zeal to defend the Communion they are Members of, and in so doing, must bear the Misfortune of being forced into Argumentations, which must appear ridiculous to the unbyassed World, in order to obtain the Character of good Church-men in their own Country. But to return: *Cainan* is inserted in the *Septuagint* Bible, and in *St. Luke's* Gospel, but there is no such Name in the *Hebrew* Catalogue of the Postdiluvian Patriarchs: To this I an-

swer; *Eusebius* and *Africanus*, both of them (besides other Writers that might be named) took their Accounts of these Times from the *Septuagint*, and yet have no such Person as *Cainan* amongst these Postdiluvians. 2. They did not omit his Name thro' Carelessness, for by the Number of Generations, and of Years which they compute from *Shem* to *Abraham*, it is plain they knew of no other Name to be inserted, than what they have given us; therefore, 3. The ancient Copies of the *Septuagint*, from which *Africanus* and *Eusebius* wrote, had not the Name of *Cainan*. 4. This Name came into the *Septuagint* Copies, thro' the Carelessness of some Transcriber, who, thro' Inattention, inserted an Antediluvian Name (for such a Person there was before the Flood) amongst the Postdiluvians, and having no Numbers for his Name, he wrote the Numbers belonging to *Salab* twice over. 5. Other Copies being taken from this erroneous one, the Name of *Cainan* in time came to be generally inserted. 6. *St. Luke* did not put *Cainan* into his Genealogy; but, 7. Learned Men finding it in the Copies of the *Septuagint*, and not in *St. Luke*, some Transcribers remark'd in the Margin of their Copies, this Name, as thinking it an Omission in the Copies of *St. Luke's* Gospel. 8. Later Copyers and

Editors finding it thus in the Margin, took it into the Text (a).

Let us now inquire what Religion at this Time was, and how it differed in different Countries. Corruptions in Religion were indeed very early; but it is very probable they were at first but few. The Religion of Mankind was almost one and the same, for many Years after they were divided from one another. We read that the *Chaldeans* were so zealous in their Errors, even in *Abram's* Days, that they expelled him their Country for his dissenting from them; but we have no reason to think, that either the *Canaanite* or the *Egyptian* were as yet devoted to a false Religion. The King of *Salem*, who was a *Canaanite*, of a different Family from *Abram*, was the Priest of the most High God (b) in the Country he was King of; and we do not find that *Abram* met with any Disturbance upon account of his Religion from the Inhabitants of that Country, nor have we reason to think that his Religion was at this time different from theirs. In the same manner when he came to *Egypt*, God is said to have sent Judgments upon *Pharaoh's* (c) Family, because of *Abram's* Wife; and the King of *Egypt* seems to have been in no wise a

Idolat
found
its way
either
Canaan
Egypt.

(a) Capell, Chron. Sacr. (b) Heb. vii. 1. (c) Gen. xii. 17.

Stranger to the true God, but to have had the Fear of him before his Eyes, and to be influenced by it in all his Actions. Religion was at this time, the Observance of what God had been pleased to reveal concerning Himself, and his Worship; and without doubt Mankind, in all Parts of the World, for some Generations, adhered to it. The only wicked Persons mentioned about this time in the World, were the *Sodomites*, and their Depravity was, not the Corruption of False Religion, but Immorality. But I shall examine this Subject a little more exactly, and the best Method I can do it in, will be to trace and consider the several Particulars of the true Religion of *Abram*; and in the next Place to inquire what Reasons we have to think that the other Nations of the World agreed with *Abram* in his Religion; and lastly, to examine when, and how, by what Steps and Means they departed from it.

I. Let us consider what was the Religion of *Abram*. And here, as all Religion must necessarily consist of two Parts, namely, of some Things to be believed, and others to be performed, so we must enquire into *Abram's* Religion under these two Heads. All Religion, I say, consists of Faith and of Practice. Faith is a Part of even Natural Religion; for *he that*
cometh

cometh unto God (a) must believe that he is, and that he is a Rewarder of them that serve him; and this Faith will oblige him to perform the Practical Part of Religion; for if there is a God, and he is a Rewarder of his Servants, it necessarily follows, that we must take Care to serve and please him. But let us enquire what the former Part of *Abram's* Religion was, what his Faith was; what he believed.

And in the general, *Abram* must unavoidably have had a very lively Sense, and firm Belief of the common Attributes of Almighty God; these he must have been convinced of from the History of Mankind, from God's Dealing with the World. The very Deluge must have fully instructed him in this Faith. We cannot imagine that he could receive the Accounts of that astonishing Vengeance, executed upon a wicked World, which, without doubt, were transmitted down from *Noah's* Sons to their Descendants, especially in those Families which adhered to the Worship of the true God; I say, he could not have the Account of this remarkable Transaction transmitted to him in all its Circumstances, without being instructed from it to think of God, 1. That he takes Cog-

(a) Heb. xi. 6.

nizance of what is done on the Earth. 2. That he is a Lover of Virtue, but an Abhorrer of Vice; for he preserved a well-disposed Family, but destroyed a wicked and sinful World. 3. That God has infinite Power to command Winds and Rains, Seas and Elements, to execute his Will. 4. That as is his Power, so is his Mercy; he was not desirous that Men should perish; he warned them of their Ruin, in order to their Amendment, 120 Years before the executing his Vengeance upon them. A Sense of these things must have led him, *Lastly*, to know and believe that a Being of this sort was to be served and worshipped, feared and obeyed. A general Faith of this sort *Abram* must have had, from a Consideration and Knowledge of what had been done in the World; and the World was as yet so young, the very Persons saved in the Flood being still alive, and their immediate Children, or Grand-Children, being the chief Actors in these Times, that no Part of Mankind can well be conceived to have deviated much from this Faith: But then, *Abram's* Faith went still further, for he believed some things that were revealed to him by Almighty God, over and above the general Truths before mentioned. As it had pleased God to design from the Fall of Man, a Scheme, which in Scripture is some-
times

times called (a) *the Will* of God, sometimes the (b) *Counsel* or *Design* of God; sometimes *the hidden Wisdom*, or *Purpose* of God, by which Mankind were to be redeemed from the Ruin, which the Sin of our first Parents had involved us in: So he was pleased to give various Hints and Discoveries of it to several Persons in the several Ages of the World, from *Adam*, to the very Time when this Purpose, so long before concerted, was to take Effect and be accomplished; and the receiving and believing the Intimations thus given, was a Part of the Religion of the Faithful, in their several Generations.

From *Adam* to the Flood, we have but one Intimation of this Sort, namely, that which is contained in the Threatning to the Serpent (c), *That the Seed of the Woman should bruise the Serpent's Head*: a Proposition, which, if taken singly, and by it self, may perhaps seem to us something dark and obscure; but I would observe from the very learned Dr. *Sherlock*, (d), that those Writers who endeavour to pervert the Meaning of this Promise, and

*That the
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London*

(a) Ephes. i. 9. Heb. x. 7--10. (b) Acts ii. 23. xx. 27. Ephes. i. 11. 1 Cor. ii. 7. Ephes. iii. 11. 2 Tim. i. 9.

(c) Gen. iii. 15. (d) Dr. *Sherlock's Use and Intent of Prophecy*, Disc. 3. well worth every one's serious Perusal, and which gives a better Account of what I am in this Place hinting, than I can express, without I were to transcribe at large what he has offered.

to give the Words a Sense not relating to the *Messiah*, under a Pretence of adhering to a literal Interpretation of Scripture, cannot, in this Place, make it speak common Sense; and I might add, that the Words of the Prophecy cannot, without breaking thro' all Rules of Grammar and Construction, admit of the Interpretation which they would put upon them. They inquire, By what Rules of Language, *the Seed of the Woman* must signify one particular Person? I answer, In the Place before us, it cannot possibly signify any thing else; the Verse, if translated exactly from the *Hebrew*, would run thus: *I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed. He shall bruise thy Head, and thou shalt bruise his Heel.* If by the *Seed of the Woman*, had been meant the Descendants of *Eve*, in the Plural Number, it should have been, *they shall bruise thy Head, and thou shalt bruise their Heels.* The *Septuagint* took particular Care in their Translation to preserve the true Meaning of it, by not using a Pronoun that might refer to the Word *Seed*, but a Personal Pronoun, which best answers the *Hebrew* Word אִיִּה, or *He* in *English*. Αὐτὸς σὲ τηρήσει κεφαλῶν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτὸν πτέρναν.

When God was pleased to admonish *Abram* to go out of his Country, from his Kindred and Relations, he encouraged him
him

him by giving larger Intimations of the Mercies he designed the World. The first of these Intimations is recorded *Gen. xii.* God there promises, upon requiring him to leave his Kindred and Father's House, "That he would give him
 " and his Descendants Abundance of Happiness and Prosperity; that of him
 " should arise a great Nation; that his
 " Name should be famous; that he should
 " be a Blessing," *i. e.* exceedingly happy or blessed; "That he would advance his
 " Friends, *blefs them that blessed him,*
 " and depress his Enemies, or *curse them*
 " *that cursed him;*" and moreover added, that *in him all the Families of the Earth should be blessed,* but not in him personally, for it was afterwards explain'd to him (a), *In thy Seed shall all the Nations of the Earth be blessed.*

This Expression of all Nations being blessed in *Abram*, or in *Abram's* Seed, is by some Writers said to mean no more, than that *Abram* and his Posterity should be so happy, as that those who had a mind to bless, or wish well to their Friends, should propose them as an Example or Pattern of the Favours of Heaven, *in thee shall all the Families of the Earth be blessed,* *i. e.* all People of the World shall bless, or wish well to their

(a) *Gen. xxii. 18.*

Friends [*in thee*, i. e.] according to what they see in thee, according to the Measure of thy Happiness. *To be blessed in one*, says a learned (a) Writer, implies, according to the Genius of the *Hebrew Language*, as much as to wish the same Degree of Happiness, as is possessed by the Person alluded to, or proposed as the Pattern of the Blessing; of this (says the same Writer) we have a remarkable Instance in the History of the Blessing bestowed by *Jacob* upon *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* (b): *And he blessed them that Day, saying, In thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh*; whence it is plain, that the Meaning of *Jacob* in saying, that *in thee shall Israel bless*, was, that *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* should be proposed as Examples of Blessing; so that People were to wish to those they intended to bless, the same Happiness which God had bestowed upon *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*. As this is an Exposition of the Promise to *Abram*, which is conceived sufficient to shew, that that Promise had no Relation to the *Messiah*, so I have expressed it in its whole Force, and I think it may be very clearly confuted; for, 1. The learned Critick above-named has very evidently mistook the Expression. *To bless a Person in*

(a) Jurieu Critical History. Vol. 1. Cap. 1. xviii. 20.

(b) Genesis

one, especially when explained by additional Words, *God make thee as such an one*, which is the Case in the Blessing of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, may easily be apprehended to be proposing the Person so mentioned as a Pattern of the Blessing or Happiness wished to him, and that, without laying any Stress upon the Genius or Idiom of the *Hebrew* Tongue, for the Words can really have no other Signification; but to say a Person shall *be blessed in*, or *by thee*, without any Addition of Words to give the Expression another Meaning, is evidently to say, that Thou shalt bless or make that Person happy, by being a Means of his Prosperity. The Expression (a) in the one Place is *in thee shall Israel bless*, or express their good Wishes to one another; and the Expression is unquestionably clear, for it is added how they should so bless, namely, by saying, *God make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh*. In the other Passage it is, *all Families shall be blessed in or by thee*, i. e. shall be made happy by thee, for this is the natural Sense of the Expression, and, unless something else had been added, the

(a) The Expression, Gen. xviii. 20, is בך יברך ישראל *in which the Verb is active*. The other Expression is, ונברכו בך כל משפחת הארמה Gen. xii. *or*, והתברכו בזרעך כל גוי הארץ Gen. xxii. *in both which Places the Verb is Passive*.

Words cannot be turned to any other Meaning. 2. None of the ancient Versions give the Words our Author's Sense, but some of them the very Sense I have explained them in. 3. The best Interpreters have always taken them in the Sense I am contending for. *St. Paul* (a) expressly tells us, that by *the Seed of Abram* was meant, not the Descendants of *Abram*, in the Plural Number, but a single Person; and the Writer of the Book of the *Acts* (b) mentions *Christ* as the particular Person, who, according to this Promise, was to bless the World: And indeed, the supposing this Promise to be fulfilled in *Christ* is absolutely necessary, because neither *Abram*, nor any Person descended from him, but *Christ*, was ever, in any tolerable Sense, a Blessing, or means of Happiness to all the Families of the Earth. Here, therefore, God enlarged the Subject of *Abram's* Faith, and revealed to him, that a Person should be descended from him, who should be a Blessing to the whole World. There are several Places in Scripture, where God, as Circumstances required, repeated the Whole or Part of this Promise; in the Plain of *Moreh* (c); and again, after *Lot* and *Abram* (d) were parted from one another; and afterwards the Particulars of this Pro-

(a) Gal. iii. 16. (b) Acts iii. 25. (c) Gen. xii. 7.
 (d) Chap. xiii. Ver. 15, &c.

mise were further explained, as I shall observe in its proper Place. This therefore was the particular Faith of *Abram*, over and besides what Reason and Observation might dictate to him concerning God and his Providence: He received the Discoveries which God was pleased to make him of his designing an universal Benefit to the World, in a Person to be descended of him, and *Abram* believed whatever it pleased God to discover to him, and such *his Belief was counted to him for Righteousness*, it was a Part of his Religion.

There is a Passage in the new Testament, which, as it relates to *Abram's* Faith, may not improperly be considered in this Place: Our blessed Saviour told the *Jews* (a), that *Abraham* had seen his Day, and rejoiced at it; from whence it is concluded, that *Abraham* had a Knowledge of Jesus Christ to come, and that by looking forward, thro' Faith, he saw him as if then present, and embraced the Expectation of him, and rejoiced in him as his Saviour. But to this it is objected, 1. That it no where appears that *Abram* knew any thing of *Christ* (b), any further than that some one Descendant from himself should be a Blessing to the whole

(a) John viii. 56.

(b) We have an Account of *Abram's* Faith, Heb. xi. and there is no mention in it of his believing in *Christ*.

World. 2. They say, the interpreting this Passage in this manner, seems to destroy the Truth which our Saviour intended to establish by it: Our Saviour spoke it (they say) in order to hint to the *Jews*, that he was a greater Person than what they took him to be, for that he not only now appeared and lived amongst them, but that he had Ages before been seen by *Abraham*; from whence the *Jews* concluded, that he meant to assert what he upon their not believing it assured them was true, *ver.* 58, that he was older than *Abraham*; but if *Abraham* saw his Day only by looking forward in Faith to the Expectation of it, no such Conclusion could follow from his so seeing it; he might thus see it, and yet the Saviour, whose Day he so looked to, might be Ages younger and later than himself; therefore,

3. As the Design of this Passage was to prove *Christ* older than *Abraham*, so they argue the true Meaning of it is, that *Christ* was himself seen by *Abraham*, and so he really was; for, as many of the Fathers rightly conjecture (*a*), the divine Person, who was so often seen by *Abraham*, when

(a) See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 1. c. 3. Justin. Martyr. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 275, 277, 280, 281, 282. Irenæus Heres. l. 4. c. 11. Clem. Alexand. Pædag. l. 1. c. 7. Tertull. contra Judæos c. 9. Id. contra Marcion. l. 2. c. 27. l. 3. c. 6. & contra Prax. c. 14. Cum multis aliis, qui citantur, & vindicantur in illust. Bullii Def. Fidei Nicenæ c. 1.

God was said to appear to him, was our blessed Saviour then in Being Ages before *he took upon him the Seed of Abraham*; *Abraham* therefore, literally speaking, saw him, and our Saviour might very justly conclude from *Abraham's* thus seeing him, that he was really in Being before *Abraham*. I have expressed this Objection in its full Force, but I think the Objectors do not consider the Accounts we have of *Abraham's* Worship. *Abraham* built his Altars not unto God, *whom no man hath seen at any time (a)*, but unto the Lord, who appeared to him; and in all the Accounts which we have of his Prayers, we find they were offered up *in the Name of this Lord*: Thus at *Beersheba*, he invoked, *in the Name of Jehovah, the everlasting God (b)*. Our *English* Translation very erroneously renders the Place, *he called upon the Name of Jehovah*; but the Expression *Kara be shem* never signifies to call upon the Name: *Kara shem* would signify, to Invoke, or call upon the Name; or, *Kara el shem* would signify, to cry unto the Name; but *Kara be shem* signifies, to invoke in the Name, and seems to be used where the true Worshippers of God offered their Prayers in the Name of the true Mediator, or where the Idolaters of-

altar as
Beersheba

Invoke
Name, or
Name of
Lord!

(a) Gen. xii. 7.
and Isaiah ix. 6.

(b) Chap. xxi. 33. See Exod. xxiii. 21.

ferred their Prayers in the Name of false Ones (a); for as the true Worshippers had but *one God*, and *one Lord*, so the false Worshippers had *Gods many* and *Lords many* (b). We have several Instances of *Kara*, and a Noun after it, sometimes with, and sometimes without the Particle *el*, and then it signifies, to call upon the Person there mentioned; thus *Kara Jehovah*, is to call upon the Lord (c), and *Kara el Jehovah* imports the same (d); but *Kara be shem* is either, to *name by the Name* (as I have formerly hinted) or, to *invoke in the Name*, when it is used as an Expression of Religious Worship.

As we have hitherto considered the Faith of *Abram*, we have now to treat of that Part of his Religion which concerned his Practice in his Worship of God. The Way and Method of worshipping God in these early Times was that of Sacrifice, and, as I have already hinted that Sacrifices were a Divine, and not an Human Institution, it seems most reasonable to suppose, that there were some prescribed Rules and Appointments for the due and regular Performance of this their Worship. + || *Plato* (e) lays it down for a general Rule, That all Laws and Appointments about

(a) 1 Kings xviii. 26. (b) 1 Corinth. viii. 5. (c) Psalm xiv. 4. xvii. 6. xxxi. 7. liii. 4. cxviii. 5, &c. (d) 1 Samuel xii. 17. Jonah i. 6, &c. (e) De Legibus l. 6. p. 759.

Divine Matters must come from the Deity, and his Opinion herein is agreeable to that of the Sacred Writer (a), who observes, that a Person cannot be capable of being a Priest, to offer Sacrifice for Sins, unless he be appointed by God unto that Office; for *no Man taketh this Honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.* It is, I think, therefore most probable, that as God at first appointed Sacrifices to be offered, so he also directed, 1. Who should be the Priest or Sacrificer, to offer them; 2. What Sorts of Sacrifices should be offered; 3. What Creatures should be sacrificed, and what not; and 4. With what Rites and Ceremonies their Sacrifices should be performed.

As to the Person who was to be the Priest, or Sacrificer, it is generally agreed by the best Writers of all sorts that the Honour of performing this Office belonged to the eldest or first-born of each Family: “Before (b) the Tabernacle was erected, private Altars and High-places were in use for Sacrifices, and the eldest of each Family performed the Sacrifice,” and that in the following manner: 1. When the Children of a Family were to offer a Sacrifice, then the Father was the Priest: In this manner *Cain* and *Abel* offered their

(a) Heb. v. 4.

(b) Tract. Melikim. in Mishna. 14.

Sacrifice; for it is not said (a), that either of them actually offered, but that each of them brought his Offering. It is probable that *Adam* their Father offered it for them.

inks that
ain off?
his children

2. When the Sons of a Family were met together to offer Sacrifice, after they came to be themselves Fathers of Houses and Families of their own, and were separated from their Father and Father's House, their Father not being present with them, the eldest Son was the Priest, or Sacrificer, for himself and his Brethren; and this was the Honour which *Jacob* coveted when he bought *Esau's* Birth-right: "He had
" a most earnest Desire (say the *Jewish*
" Writers (b)) to obtain the Privilege of
" the First-born from *Esau*; because, as
" we have it by Tradition, before the Ta-
" bernacle, whilst private Altars were in
" use, the Eldest or First-born was the
" Sacrificer or Priest of the Family." And it is for this Reason that *Esau* was called Prophane (c) for selling his Birth-right, because he shewed himself to have but little Value for that religious Office, which was annexed to it. 3. All the Children of a Family, younger as well as elder, when they were settled in the World, and had Families of their own, had the Right of Sacrificing for their own Families, as Heads

(a) Gen. iv. (b) Bereschit Rabba, fol. 7. (c) Hebrews xii. 16.

of them; of this we have several Instances in the Sacrifices of *Jacob* in his Return from *Laban* with his Wives and Children.

As to the several Sorts of Sacrifices which were to be offered, we do not find any express mention of any other than these following: The Expiatory Sacrifice; this was that which *Abel* was supposed to offer; and it is generally held by all the best Writers, that the Fathers of every Family offered this Sacrifice, as *Job* did for his Children (a), daily. 2. They had PreATORY Sacrifices, which were Burnt-offerings of several Creatures, in order to obtain from God some particular Favours; of this Sort was the Sacrifice of *Noah* after the Flood: *Noah builded an Altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean Beast, and of every clean Fowl, and offered Burnt-offerings upon the Altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet Savour, and said, I will not again curse the Ground, neither will I smite every thing living any more --- And God blessed Noah, and said ---* (b). This Sacrifice of *Noah's*, says *Josephus* (c), was offered, in order to obtain from God a Promise, that the ancient and natural Course of things should be continued, without being interrupted by any farther Calamities. If we attend to the Circum-

*Expiatory
Sacrifice*

Preatory

(a) *Job* i. 5. (b) *Gen.* viii. 20. (c) *Antiquitat.* l. i. c. 3.

stances belonging to this Sacrifice, we find (Chap. viii.) that God promised this Favour, and enjoined them the Observance of some Laws, and covenanted, that they should assuredly have the Mercies which he had prayed for. In much the same manner God covenanted with *Abram*, upon his offering one of these *Precatory* Sacrifices, to give him the Land of *Canaan* (a). *Abram* said unto God, *Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?* And God said unto him, *Take me an Heifer of three Years old, and a She-Goat of three Years old, and a Ram of three Years old, and a Turtle-dove, and a young Pigeon; and he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each Piece one against another, but the Birds divided he not.* This was the Method and Order in which he laid them upon the Altar for a Sacrifice; and he sat down to watch them, that the Fowls of the Air might not seize upon them; and about the going down of the Sun *Abram* fell asleep, and in a Dream God revealed to him how, and in what manner he designed to give his Descendants the Land of *Canaan*. And after Sun-set, *Behold a smoking* (b) *Furnace*

(a) Gen. xv. 8--18. (b) Here is evidently a Mistake in our Hebrew Bibles; *עָרַךְ*, to pass, and *בָּעַר*, to kindle, or burn, are Words of exactly the same Letters; and thro' the Mistake of some Trans-

nace and a burning Lamp passed between these Pieces, i. e. a Fire from Heaven consumed the Sacrifice, and in that same Day, i. e. then, or at that time, the Lord made a Covenant with Abram, saying, &c. And thus I have set down all the Particulars of this Sacrifice, it being the fullest Description we meet with, of this sort of Sacrifice. These *Precatory* Sacrifices might also be called *Federal*; the *Psalmist* alludes to them, where he speaks of those that had made a Covenant with God by Sacrifice (a).

3. A third sort of Sacrifice in use in these Times, was a Burnt-offering of some Parts of a Creature, with a Feast upon the remaining Parts, in order to ratify and confirm some Agreement or League between Man and Man: Of this we have a particular Instance in the Sacrifice and Feast of *Jacob* in the Mount with *Laban* and his Brethren. 4. They offered by way of Gratitude, Oblations of the Fruits and product of their Tillage, *Cain* brought of the Fruit of the Ground an offering unto the Lord. 5. They made an Offering of Oil or Wine, when they made a

Cov. m.

Oblatio

Offering
wine orattendant
vows.

Transcriber, Nabar is in this Place instead of Banar, which would make the Sense much more clear; the Meaning of the Place is, that the Parts of the Sacrifice smoked first, and afterwards fell on Fire; and the Words rightly taken, do very well express this: Behold a smoking Furnace and a burning Lamp [not passed but] kindled amongst the Pieces.

(a) Psalm. l. 5.

Vow,

Vow, or laid themselves under a solemn Promise to perform some Duty, if it should please God to favour them with some desired Blessing. Thus *Jacob* when he went towards *Haran* (a) vowed a Vow, saying, *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this Way that I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on, so that I come again to my Father's House in Peace, then the Lord shall be my God, and I will give the Tenth, &c.* And in order to bind himself to this Vow, he took the Stone — and set it up for a Pillar, and poured Oil upon the Top of it. In the same manner in another Place (b) *Jacob set up a Pillar in the Place where God talked with him, even a Pillar of Stone, and he poured a Drink-offering thereon, and he poured Oil thereon.* These are, I think, all the several Sorts of Offerings and Sacrifices, which we can prove to have been in use in these early Times; if they used any other, they have left us no Hints of them.

Let us now inquire what Creatures were offered in Sacrifice, and what not? to which I answer, all *clean* Beasts whatsoever, and no other; and all *clean* Fowls, and no other. What the Number of the *clean* Beasts and Fowls were, and when *at animals* or how that Distinction began, are Points

(a) Gen. xxviii. 18 ---22. (b) Chap. xxxv. Ver. 14.

which

What animals were clean?

which the Learned have not given a full and satisfactory Account of. It seems most probable, from the First Chapter of *Leviticus*, compared with the Sacrifice of *Noah* after the Flood, and with that of *Abram*, Gen. xv. that the *clean* Beasts used for Sacrifice were of the Cow-kind, or of the Sheep, or of the Goats, and that the *clean* Fowls were only Turtle-doves and young Pigeons. These were all the Creatures which God appointed the *Jews* for Burnt-offerings; and these were the Creatures which *Abram* offered in his solemn Sacrifice, in order to obtain the Assurance of the Land of *Canaan*, and in this sort of Sacrifice it was usual to offer of every sort of Creature used for Sacrifice, for so *Noah's* Sacrifice, which was of this Sort, is described, *He took of every clean Beast, and every clean Fowl, and offered Burnt-offerings upon the Altar.* *Noah* took, says *R. Eleazar*, of all sorts of clean Beasts, namely, the Bullock, the Lamb, and the Goat; and from among the Birds, the Pigeon and Turtle-dove, and sacrificed them.

Our last enquiry was, What Ceremonies were used at this time in Religion: And here we can have but little to offer, because we have few Particulars handed down to us. If we look into the Journeys of *Abram*, we find, that where-ever he made any Stop, he constantly built an Altar;

*Some
thing to*

tar; this he did in the Plain of *Moreh* (a); and afterwards when he removed, he built another in the Place where he pitched his Tent, between *Bethel* and *Hai* (b); and afterwards another, when he came to dwell in the Plain of *Mamre*. In the same manner *Isaac* built an Altar at *Beerseba* (c); and *Jacob* afterwards, both at *Shalem* (d) and at *Bethel* (e). In all Places where they fixed their Habitations, they left us these Monuments of their being very punctual and exact Performers of their Offices of Religion; but what the particular Ceremonies used in their religious Performances were, or what were the stated or occasional Times of such Performances, we cannot say with any Certainty; and therefore, tho' I cannot but think, with many learned Writers, that a great deal may be guessed upon this Subject, from observing what was afterwards enjoined in the Law of *Moses*, yet all that amounting at most to no more than Conjecture, I shall chuse to omit it in this Place. We have indeed mention made of two particular Ceremonies of Religion, a very little after *Abraham's* Time. *Jacob*, in order to prepare his Family to offer Sacrifice with him upon the Altar which he designed to make at *Bethel*, bids them

(a) Gen. xii. 7. (b) Ver. 8. Chap. xiii. Ver. 18. (c) Chap. xxvi. Ver. 25. (d) Chap. xxxiv. Ver. 28. (e) Chap. xxxv. Ver. 7.

(a) *be clean, and change your Garments.* *Be clean*, i. e. wash your selves, as Dr. *Lightfoot* (b) rightly interprets it, this being not only a most ancient Usage, but a Ceremony universally practised by all Nations. It seems at first to have been appointed by God, to keep up in their Minds the Remembrance of the Deluge; they were to use Water upon their having contracted any Defilements, in order to hint to them, how God by Water had formerly washed away all the Pollutions of the World; for by a Flood of Waters he washed away all the wicked and polluted Men from off the Face of the Earth. That this was the first Occasion of God's appointing Water to be used for their Purifications, seems very probable from the several Opinions which all sorts of Writers have handed down to us about the Deluge. We learn from *Philo* (c), that the ancient *Jews* reputed the Deluge to be a Lustration or Purification of the World; and *Origen* informs us (d), that their Opinion in this Point was embraced by the first Christians; and the same Writer (e) says, that some eminent *Greek* Philosophers were of the same Opinion, and *Plato* seems to hint it in several

(a) Gen. xxxv. 2. (b) Har. Evang. (c) Lib. quod deterior potior. l. 186. (d) Contra Celsum l. 4. p. 173.
 (e) lb. 316.

Places (a) in his Works, and I think I may say St. Peter alludes to this Opinion (b), where he compares the Baptism of Christians to the Water of the Flood.

As they had their Altars for their Sacrifices, so they had *Proseuchæ*, or Places of Retirement, to offer Prayers unto God, at such times as they did not offer Sacrifices with them; and these *Proseuchæ*, or Places of Prayer, were set round with Trees, in order to make them the more retired. A Place of this sort *Abraham* prepared for himself in *Beersheba* (c), and in it he called upon the Name of the Lord the everlasting God.

There is one Ceremony more, which was appointed to *Abraham*, to be observed by him and his Posterity, and that is Circumcision, of which *Moses* has given a full Account (d).

II. We are in the next Place to inquire how far the several Nations at this time in the World agreed with *Abram* in his Religion. And as all the Nations that were at this time in the World of any Figure, or of which we have any Accounts, were either the Inhabitants of *Persia*, *Assyria*, *Arabia*, *Canaan*, or E-

(a) De Legib. l. 3. p. 676. & in al. (b) 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21.
 (c) Gen. xxi. 33. (d) Chap. xvii.

gypt, so I shall mention what may be offered concerning these, in their Order.

And 1. The Perfians. They for some time adhered to the true and pure Worship of God. They are remarkable beyond other Nations (a) for having had amongst them a true Account of the Creation of the World, and they adhered very strictly to it, and founded all their Religion upon it. The Perfians were the Children of Shem, by his Son Elam, as Abraham and his Descendants were by Arphaxad, and therefore the same common Parent that instructed the one Branch in the true Religion, did also instruct the other; and Dr. Hyde (b) remarks, that he could not find any Reason to think, but that they were for some time very strict Professors of it, tho' by degrees they corrupted it, by introducing Novelties and Fancies of their own into both their Faith and Practice. Dr. Hyde treats of the Perfian Religion under these three Heads: 1. He says the true Religion was planted amongst them by Elam, but in time it was corrupted into (c) Sabiism. 2. Their Sabiism was reformed by Abraham, but in time they relapsed into it again. 3. They

*Children
of
Shem*

Sabiis

(a) Hyde Religio veterum Perfarum cap. 3. (b) Id. c. 1.
(c) Sabians were the Worshippers of the Host of Heaven. See Pri-
deaux Connect. Vol. I. Book iii.

afterwards introduced *Magiism* (a). According to this Account, the *Persians* were fallen into the Errors of the *Sabians* in *Abraham's* Days, and were reduced by him back again to the true Religion; but in this Point, I should think that learned Writer to be mistaken: All his Accounts of their having been anciently *Sabians*, are taken either from the *Mahometan* Writers, or *Greek* Historians; but these Authorities only prove that they were *Sabians* before the *Magian* Religion took place amongst them; but not that they were so as early as *Abraham's* Days. He also imagines that their Religion was reformed by *Abraham*, and consequently that it was corrupted before, or in his Days. Their ancient Accounts (he says) call their Religion *Millat Ibrâhîm*, or *Kîsh Abrâbâm*, i. e. the Religion of *Abraham*; and their Sacred Book, which contains the Doctrines of their Religion, is called *Sohfi Ibrâhîm*, i. e. the Book of *Abraham*; and he concludes from hence, that their first and most ancient Religion being planted amongst them by *Elam* their first Founder, their Religion could not possibly be called the Religion of *Abraham*, unless he had reformed it from some Corruptions that were crept into it; and therefore he gives it as his Opinion, that

(a) *Magians were Worshippers of Fire. See Connect. ibid.*

Abraham did some time or other in his Life reduce them back to the true Worship; but it is remarkable, that he is very much at a Loss to determine in what Part of *Abraham's* Life he made this Reformation. He says, that they report *Abraham* to have lived some Part of his Life in *Bactria*, agreeably to what is remarked by one of their Writers, that *Balch* was the City of the Prophet *Abraham*: Now the City *Balch* was situate in the farther Parts of *Persia*, towards *India*; but Dr. *Hyde* allows, that we cannot find from the Scripture, that *Abraham* ever travelled that way; nay further, that *Balch* was built by a King of *Persia*, long after *Abraham's* Time, and that the true meaning of the Expression above-cited, that *Balch* was the City of the Prophet *Abraham*, was no more than this; namely, that *Balch* was a City eminent for the Profession of *Abraham's* Religion. Again, he would imagine the *Persians* to have been brought over to *Abraham's* Religion by the Overthrow which he gave the King of *Elam* and his Associates, when he rescued *Lot* from him; but this is an unsupported and very improbable Imagination. The true Reason for the *Persians* having been anciently recorded to be of *Abraham's* Religion, seems more likely to be this: As the Fame of *A-*

Abraham, and his opposing the *Chaldeans* in their Corruptions and Innovations, was spread far and near over all the East, and had reach'd even to *India*, so, very probably, all *Persia* was full of it; and the *Persians* not being then corrupted, as the *Chaldeans* were, but persevering in the true Worship of the God of Heaven, for which *Abraham* was expelled *Chaldea*, might upon the Fame of his Credit and Reputation in the World, profess, and take care to deliver themselves down to Posterity, as Professors of his Religion, in opposition to those Innovations which prevailed in *Chaldea*. The first Religion therefore of the *Persians* was the Worship of the true God, and they continued in it for some time after *Abraham* was expelled *Chaldea*, having the same Faith and Worship as *Abraham* had, except only in those Points concerning which he received Instruction after his going into *Haran* and into *Canaan*.

Pharad
 The next People whose Religion we are to consider, are the *Chaldeans*. They indeed persevered in the true Religion but for a little time, for (as I before observed) about the seventieth Year of *Abraham's* Life the *Chaldeans* had so far departed from the Worship of the God of Heaven, and were so zealous in their Errors, that upon *Abraham's* Family refusing to
 join

join with them, they expelled them their Country (a), so that we must pass from them, until we come to treat of the Nations that were corrupted in their Religion.

The People next to be considered are the *Arabians*, many of whom persevered in the true Worship of God for several Ages, of which *Job* was an Instance perhaps in these Times of which I am treating, and (b) *Jethro* the Priest of *Midian* in the Days of *Moses*. Their Religion appears in no respect to have differed from that of *Abraham*, only we do not find any Proof that they were acquainted with the Orders which were given him, or the Revelations made to him after he came into *Canaan*.

And if we look amongst the *Canaanites*, here, as I before hinted, we shall find no Reason to imagine, that there was a Religion different from that of *Abraham*. *Abraham* travelled up and down many Years in this Country, and was respected by the Inhabitants of it, as a Person in great favour with God. *Melchisedec* the King of *Salem* was a Priest of the most high God, and he received and entertained *Abraham* as a true Servant and particular Favourite of that God, whose Priest he himself was; *Blessed* (said he) *be Abraham*,

(a) Judith v. 7, 8.

(b) Exod. xviii. 10----12.

Servant of the most high God, Possessor of Heaven and Earth (a). The *Canaanites* gave *Abraham* no manner of Disturbance, as the *Chaldeans* had done, during all the time that he sojourned amongst them, and we have no reason to imagine that they differed from him in their Religion. In the same manner when he came to *Gerar (b)*, into the Land of the *Philistins*, he found *Abimelech* to be a good and virtuous King, one that received the Favour of Admonitions from God (c), and shew'd himself, by his obeying them, to be his true Servant. *Abraham* indeed, before he came amongst them, thought the *Philistins* to be a wicked People, and imagined the Fear of God not to be in that Place (d), but the Address of *Abimelech* to God, upon his receiving Intimations that *Sarah* was *Abraham's* Wife, shews how much he was mistaken in his Opinion of them: *Lord, wilt thou slay a righteous Nation? Said he not unto me, She is my Sister? and she, even she her self said, He is my Brother: In the Integrity of my Heart, and Innocency of my Hands have I done this (e).* We find also that *Abimelech* made no Scruple of admitting *Abraham* for a Prophet, and of getting him to intercede for him. There is nothing in the

(a) Gen. xiv. 19. (b) Chap. xx. (c) Ver. 3. (d) Ver. 11. (e) Ver. 5.

whole Account of this Affair, which intimates a Difference in Religion between *Abraham* and *Abimelech*, nor any thing which can intimate *Abimelech* not to be a Worshipper of God in great Sincerity and Integrity of Heart. And this, I believe, was the State of the World at this time: The *Chaldeans* were something sooner settled than other Nations, and so began to corrupt their Religion more early; but in *Abraham's* Time, all the other Nations, or Plantations, did adhere to the true Accounts of the Creation and Deluge, which their Fathers had given them, and worshipped the true God according to what had been revealed to them, and in a manner not different from the Worship of *Abraham*, until God was pleased to make further Revelations to *Abraham*, and to injoin him Rites and Observances in Religion, with which he had not acquainted other Nations; and we shall find this true amongst those whom we are next to consider; for

The *Egyptians* also at first worshipped the true God. For as *Abraham* was received at *Gerar*, so also was he entertained at *Egypt* (a). We find indeed that the *Egyptians* fell into Idolatry very early; but when they had thus departed from the true Worship of God, we see evident

(a) Gen. xii. 14, &c.

Marks of it in their Conversation with those who still adhered to it; for in *Joseph's* time we are told, that the *Egyptians* might not eat Bread with the *Hebrews* (a), for that was then counted an *Abomination* to them; but in *Abraham's* Time we meet with nothing of this sort: *Abraham* was entertained by *Pharaoh* without the Appearance of any Indisposition towards him, or any the least Sign of their having a different Religion from that which *Abraham* himself professed and practised. The *Heathen* Writers give us some Hints, that the *Egyptians* were at first Worshippers of the true God. *Plutarch* testifies (b), that in *Upper Egypt*, the Inhabitants of that Country paid no Part of the Taxes that were raised for the *Idolatrous* Worship, asserting themselves to own no Mortal Being to be a God, but professing themselves to worship their God *Cneph* only, whom they affirmed to be without Beginning, and without End. *Philo-Biblicus* informs us (c), that in the *Mythologic* Times, they represented this Deity, called *Cneph*, by the Figure of a Serpent, with the Head of a Hawk in the middle of a Circle; but then he further tells us from the ancient Records, that the God thus represented was the Creator of all

(a) Gen. xliii. 32. (b) Plut. de Iside & Osiride, p. 359.
 (c) Eusebius præp. Evang. L. 1. c. 10.

Things, a Being incorruptible and eternal, without Beginning, and without Parts; with several other Attributes belonging to the supreme God. And agreeable to this, *Porphyry* calls this *Egyptian Cneph* ἢ δημιουργόν, i. e. *the Maker*, or *Creator* of the Universe (a). If we search the *Egyptian* Antiquities, we may find in their Remains as noble and as true Notions of the Deity, as are to be met with in the Antiquities of any other People; these were certainly their first Principles, and as long as they adhered to these, so long they preserved the Knowledge of the true Religion; but afterwards, when they came to add to these, Speculations of their own, then by degrees they corrupted and lost it.

And thus at first there was a general Agreement about Religion in the World; and if we look into the Particulars of the Heathen Religion, even after they were much corrupted, we may evidently find several Practices, as well as Principles, sufficient to induce us to think that all the ancient Religions in the World were originally the same. Sacrifices were used in every Country; and tho' by degrees they were disfigured by many human Ceremonies and Inventions, in the Way and Method of using them; yet I might say, the

(a) *Id.* Lib. 3. c. 11.

Heathens generally offered the same sorts of Sacrifices as were appointed to *Noah*, to *Abraham*, and to the other Servants of the true God. They offered Expiatory Sacrifices, to make Atonement for their Sins, and Precatory Sacrifices, to obtain extraordinary Favours: They had their Vows, and their Oblations. And many Instances of all these may be found in *Homer*, and in many other Heathen Writers. In the next Place, Priests were appointed to be the Sacrificers for them; and tho', when Civil Society came to be set up, it became as necessary to have National Priests, as it was in Families to have private ones; (Instances of which we meet with amongst the true Worshippers of God, *Melchisedec* at *Salem*, as well as *Anius* at *Delphos* (a), being both Priest and King; and God himself appointing the *Israelites* a National Priest, when they afterwards became a People;) yet we find that amongst the Heathens, for many Ages, the original Appointment of the Head of every Family to be the Priest and Sacrificer to his Family, was inviolably maintained, as may be proved from their private Feasts, where neither the Publick, nor consequently the publick Ministers of Religion were concerned; and thus *Homer* very remarkably represents *Eu-*

(a) Virgil. Æn. 3.

mæus, the Keeper of Ulysses's Cattle, officiating as Priest (*a*) in the Sacrifice, which he made when he entertained Ulysses, who visited him in the Dress and Habit of a poor Traveller. In the same manner we have reason to think, that for a great while the Creatures used in Sacrifice were the same, as *Noah* called the *clean* Beasts; for supposing *them* to be, as I before observed, only Bullocks, Sheep, or Goats, these were most anciently and most generally used by the Heathens: Time, indeed, and a continual Increase of Superstition, made numerous Additions to all Parts of their Religion; but *Job's* Friends amongst the *Arabians* used Bullocks and Rams for their Burnt-offerings (*b*), and the *Moabites* (*c*) did the same in *Moses's* Time; and the common Expiations mentioned in *Homer*, are either [ἐκατόμβαι ταύρων ἢ δ' Αἰγῶν] Hecatombs of Bulls or Goats, or [ἀρνῶν αἰγῶν τε τελείων] Lambs, and Goats without Blemish; and *Achilles* joins them all together (*d*), supposing that an Offering of one or other of these was wanting to avert the Anger of *Apollo*, hereby intimating these to be the common and ordinary Expiations. As to the Ceremonies used in the early Days, we have so short an Account of what were used

(*a*) *Odyss.* 14. l. 432. 446. (*b*) *Job.* xlii. 8. (*c*) *Numbers* xxiii. 1. (*d*) *Homer* Il. 1.

in the true Religion, and there was such a Variety of Additions made to the False, that we cannot offer a large Comparison between them; however we may observe, that the two ancient Ceremonies which I have taken notice of, namely, of washing and changing their Garments, in order to approach the Altar, universally took place in all the several sorts of the Heathen Worship. Various Authors might be cited to prove this, which the Reader may see in *Dr. Spencer's* Dissertation upon the ancient Purifications; but there are two Lines of the *Latin* Poet, which describe these two Rites in Words so agreeable to the Directions which *Jacob* gave his Family about them, that I shall set them down as a Specimen of the rest.

*Castâ placent Superis, purâ cum veste venite,
Et manibus puris sumite Fontis Aquam. Tibul.*

Upon the Whole; It is remarkable, that some learned Writers, and *Dr. Spencer* in particular, have imagined that the Resemblance between the ancient Heathen Religions, and the ancient Religion which was instituted by God, was in many Respects so great, that they thought that God was pleased to institute the one in imitation of the other. This Conclusion is indeed a very wrong one, and it is the grand Mistake which runs thro' all the Works
of

of the very learned Author last mentioned. The ancient Heathen Religions do indeed in many Particulars agree with the Institutions and Appointments of that Religion, which was appointed to *Abraham* and to his Family, and which was afterwards revived by *Moses*; not that these were derived from those of the Heathen Nations, but much more evidently the Heathen Religions were copied from them; for there is, I think, one Observation, which, as far as I have had Opportunity to apply it, will fully answer every Particular that *Dr. Spencer* has offered, and that is this; he is able to produce no one Ceremony or Usage, practised both in the Religion of *Abraham* or *Moses*, and in that of the Heathen Nations, but that it may be proved, that it was used by *Abraham* or *Moses*, or by some of the true Worshippers of God, earlier than by any of the Heathen Nations.

III. We are to inquire, How, and by what Means the several Nations in the World departed from the true Religion: and since *Diodorus Siculus* has given a very probable Account of the Rise of false Religion in *Egypt*, I will begin there first, and endeavour to illustrate what I shall say of other Nations, from what we find of them.

The first Men of *Egypt*, says he (a), considering the World, and the Nature of the Universe, imagined two first eternal Gods; so that it was their Speculative Enquiries into the Nature of Things that led them into Errors about the Deity; and if we examine we shall see, that from *the Beginning* to the *present Times*, it has always been a vain Philosophy, and an Affectation of *Science falsely so called*, that has corrupted Religion. The first *Egyptians* had without doubt a short Account of the History of the World transmitted to them; an Account of the Creation; of the Origin of Mankind; of the Deluge; and of the Method of Worship which God had appointed. As *Abraham* had received Instruction in these Points from his Fore-fathers, so also the *Egyptians* had from theirs; but they did not take a due Care not to deviate from what had thus been transmitted to them: Some great Genius or other thinking to speculate, and to establish such Speculations as he judged to be true, and therefore very proper to be admitted into their Religious Enquiries, happened to think wrong, and so began a Scheme of Error, which others, Age after Age, refined upon and added to, until by Steps and Degrees they

(a) Diodor. Sic. Lib. 1.

built up the whole Frame of their Idolatries and Superstitions.

The Person that first speculated upon these Subjects was *Syphis*, the first of that Name (for his Successor was likewise so called) a King of *Memphis*. This *Syphis* began his Reign about *A. M.* 2164, which is about eighty Years after *Abraham's* coming into *Egypt*; he reigned sixty-three Years, and so died above forty Years after *Abraham*; so that he may well be imagined to have heard of all the Transactions of *Abraham's* Life, of his Fame in the several Countries where he had lived; and being a Prince that had an Ambition to raise himself a Reputation in the World (a), and seeing *Abraham's* greatest Glory to be founded upon his Religion, and the Revelations which God had been pleased to make him, he endeavoured to make himself conspicuous the same way, and for that End *περλόπιης εἰς Θεὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν σωτέραν Βίβλον* (b). A learned Writer (c) would seem to infer from these Words, that *Syphis* saw and conversed with God, as *Abraham* and the Patriarchs did. He tells us from *Manetho* in *Josephus*, that *Amenophis* affected to

(a) *Manetho* ascribes to him the largest of the Pyramids, and so does *Herodotus*. See *Euseb. Chron.* (b) *Syncellus* p. 56.

(c) *Marsham Can. Chron.* p. 51.

have seen God, and answers *Josephus's* Query about it by hinting, that the Expression of seeing God was a *Form of speaking* common to the *Egyptians, Hebrews,* and other Nations at this Time. The learned Author expresses himself so dubiously in his whole Chapter, that one can't well say, whether he intends to insinuate, that *Syphis* conversed with God as much as *Abraham*, or rather that neither of them conversed with God at all; but only each of them considering and contemplating what was most reasonable, they gave the greater Authority to what they had a mind to impose, by pretending to have conversed with the Deity, and to have received their Orders from him; but nothing of this sort follows from either what we read of *Syphis*, or from what *Manetho* reports of *Amenophis*, or from any of the Quotations which Sir *John Marsham* has cited upon this Subject; rather on the other Hand, the true Conclusion from them is this, that God was pleased to make several Revelations to *Abraham* and to his Descendants, and that, upon the Fame of these spreading abroad in the World, many Kings and great Men desired greatly, and used Arts to have it thought that they had the same Favours shewn to them; as the Sorcerers and Magicians afterwards pretended to work
Mi-

Miracles in order to appear to have the same Powers with those which God had given to some other Persons.

The Expression *περὶ τῶν εἰς Θεοὺς ἐγέ- νετο*, does not signify, that he saw the Gods, but *contemplator in Deos fuit*, i. e. he speculated about the Deities, and from his Speculations he wrote his Book. *Manetho* pretends that he had this Book of *Syphis*, but Sir *John Marsham* very judiciously queries whether Books were thus early; or whether they did not rather at this Time mark or inscribe Memoirs and Hints of Things on Pieces of Stone, or Lumps of burnt Earth. *Manetho's* Book might be a Transcript from some Remains of *Syphis*. We are told, that *Syphis's* Doctrines were highly esteem'd (a) amongst the *Egyptians*, and that they followed them very strictly; and Sir *John Marsham* (b) very justly remarks, that this King's *Θεοπλία*, or Pretence of having seen God, was the Foundation of all the *Egyptian* Errors in Religion.

The Substance of what *Syphis* speculated upon these Subjects, is given us by *Diodorus Siculus* (c) as the Sentiments of the most ancient *Egyptians* about Religion. He considered the World, and the Nature of the Universe, and examined the Influence which the Sun and Moon had

(a) Euseb. Chron. (b) Can. Chron. p. 54. (c) Lib. 1.

upon it, how they (a) nourish'd, and gave Life and Vigour to all things; and concluded from hence, that they were two powerful and mighty Deities; and so instituted a Worship for them. And perhaps this was all that *Syphis* innovated. Other Errors were added afterwards. *Syphis* set himself to lay the Foundation of a rational Religion: He considered the Influence which the Luminaries of Heaven had upon the World, and because it did not fall in with his Scheme of Speculation, he set aside what his Ancestors had before taught, that *in the Beginning God created the Heavens* as well as *the Earth*; the Sun, Moon, and Stars, as well as the Creatures of the lower World: Thus he reasoned wrong, and so instead of inventing a good one, he defaced and corrupted the true Religion; and all this he was probably induced to by the Fame of *Abraham*, out of a Pride and Desire to vie with him; for the *Egyptians* had a particular Inclination to affect to practise what they heard was introduced into *Abraham's* Religion; they in a little time followed him into the Practice of Circumcision, and when the Report of his intend-

(a) Plato asserts the ancient Grecians to have been charmed with the same sort of Argument, ἄτε ἐν αὐτὰ ὁρῶντες πάντα αἰετοῦσι δέμας καὶ θεοῦσι ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆ φύσεως τῆ τῶ θεῶν θεῶς αὐτὸς ὑπονομάσκει.

ing to sacrifice his Son *Isaac* came to be known amongst them, they instituted human Sacrifices, a barbarous Custom, which continued amongst them for five or six hundred Years.

I am sensible that several Writers have intimated, that the *Egyptians* were so far from copying after *Abraham*, that they pretend that *Abraham* rather imitated them in all his religious Institutions; they say, that *Abraham* was not the first that used Circumcision, but that he learnt it from the *Egyptians*. A noble Writer (a) seems very fond of this Opinion, but he has said nothing but what *Celsus* (b) and *Julian* (c) said before him. *Herodotus* is cited upon this Occasion, affirming (d), that Circumcision was a very ancient Rite amongst the *Egyptians*, instituted by them ἀπ' Ἀρχῆς, *from the Beginning*. Again, in another Place he says, (e) that other Nations did not use Circumcision, except those who learnt it from the *Egyptians*. Again he tells us (f), that the *Colchians*, *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians*, and the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* that lived in *Palestine* [i. e. as *Josephus* rightly corrects him (g), the *Jews*] used Circumcision, and they confess them-

(a) *Lord Shaftsbury Charact.* Vol. III. p. 52. (b) *Apud Origen.* p. 259. (c) *Apud Cyrill.* p. 354. (d) *Lib. 2. c. 91.*
 (e) *Cap. 36.* (f) *Id. Lib. 2. c. 104.* (g) *Contra Apion*
 p. 1346.

selves, says he, to have learnt it from the *Egyptians*. *Diodorus Siculus* (a) thought the *Colchians* and the *Jews* derived from the *Egyptians*, because they used Circumcision. And again, he speaks of some other Nations, who, he says (b), were circumcised after the manner of the *Egyptians*. This is the whole of what is offered from the Heathen Writers. That Circumcision was used anciently by several Nations besides the *Jews*, we do not deny, nay, we may allow it to have been practised amongst the *Egyptians* ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, *from the Beginning*, not meaning by that Expression from the first Rise or Original of that Nation, but that it was so early amongst them, that the Heathen Writers had no Account of the Original of it. When any thing appeared to them to be thus ancient, they pronounced it to be ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. That *Herodotus* himself meant no more than this by the Expression, is evident from his own Words. We find him querying, Whether the *Egyptians* learnt Circumcision from the *Ethiopians*, or the *Ethiopians* from the *Egyptians*, and he is able to determine neither way, but concludes it to be a very ancient Rite (c). There had been no room for this Query, if he had before meant, that it was an

(a) Lib. 1. p. 17.
Lib. 2. c. 104.

(b) Lib. 3. p. 115.

(c) Herodotus

original Rite of the *Egyptians*, when he said it was used by them *from the Beginning*; but amongst the Heathen Writers, to say a thing was ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, *from the Beginning*, or that it was *very anciently practised*, are Terms perfectly synonymous, and mean the same thing. As to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* declaring that the *Jews* learnt Circumcision from the *Egyptians*, we answer, The Heathen Writers had but very little Knowledge of the *Jewish History*; they are seldom known to mention them without making palpable Mistakes about them. *Josephus's* Books against *Apion* give many Instances of numerous Mistakes, which the Heathen Writers were in about the History of the *Jews*; and the Account which *Justin* the Epitomizer of *Trogus Pompeius* gives of their Original (a), shews evidently, that they were but very superficially acquainted with their Affairs, and therefore *Origen* might justly blame *Celsus* (b) for adhering to the Heathen Accounts of Circumcision, rather than to that of *Moses*; for *Moses* has given a full and clear Account of the Original of the Institution, they only offer

(a) Justin. Lib. 36. c. 2. (b) Origen contra Celsum, p. 17. Sir John Marsham misrepresents Origen, intimating him to say, that *Moses* said in express Words, that *Abraham* was the first Person that was circumcised; whereas Origen only deduces what follows by a very just Inference from *Moses's* Account of the Institution of Circumcision.

imperfect Hints and Conjectures; nay and *Herodotus*, who says most of it, did not know (y) at last where it was first instituted, whether in *Egypt* or *Ethiopia*, and therefore not certainly whether in either. But there is one thing further to be offered, we have the Testimony of an Heathen Writer unquestionably confirming *Moses's* Account of *Abraham's* Circumcision. We read in *Philo Biblius's* Extracts from *Sanctioniathon* (z), that it was recorded in the *Phœnician* Antiquities, that *Ilus*, who was also called *Chronus*, circumcised himself, and compelled his Companions to do the same. This *Ilus* or *Chronus*, says Sir *John Marsham* (a), was *Noah*, or at least, according to (b) other Writers, he is pretended to have been a Person far more ancient than the times of *Abraham*; and therefore they say from this Passage it appears that Circumcision was practis'd before the times of *Abraham*. But to this I answer: The same Author that gives us this Account of *Ilus* or *Chronus*, sufficiently informs us who he was, by telling us that he sacrificed his only Son (c), nay and further we are informed from the *Egyptian* Records (d) of this very *Chronus*, that the *Phœnicians* called him *Israel*.

(y) See his Query above-mention'd. (z) Euseb. præp. Evang. Lib. i. c. 10. p. 38. (a) Can. Chron. p. 72. confer. cum p. 38. (b) Oper. Spencer. p. 56. (c) Euseb. loc. sup. citat. (d) Id. p. 40.

Chronus therefore or *Israel*, who was reported to have sacrificed his only Son, can be no other Person than *Abraham*, whom the Heathen Writers represent to have sacrificed his only Son *Isaac*: *Jacob* was the Person who was really called *Israel* (e), but the Heathen accounts (f) of *him* were, that he had ten Sons; so that here is only a small Mistake in applying the Name *Israel* to the Person who, they say, offered in Sacrifice his only Son, when in truth it was a Name that belonged to his Grandson; but these Writers make greater mistakes than this, in all parts of their Histories: And thus it appears from this passage, not, as some Writers would infer from it, that Circumcision was used in Heathen Nations Ages before *Abraham*, but that *Abraham* and his Family were circumcised, and therefore unless they can produce a Testimony of some other Persons being circumcised cotemporary with, or prior to *Abraham*, we have their own Confession that *Abraham* was circumcised earlier, than they can give an Instance of any other Person's being circumcised in the World. There are several Writers that have treated upon this Subject. Sir *John Marsham* and Dr. *Spencer* favour the Opinion of *Celsus* and *Julian*, but as I think what I have

(e) Gen. xxxv. 10.

(f) Justin. Lib. 36. c. 2.

already offered is sufficient to shew what a bad Foundation it is grounded upon; so I shall add nothing further, but leave the Reader, if he thinks fit to inquire more into the Subject, to consult those (g) who have treated of it more at large.

As the *Egyptians* were led away from the true Religion by Speculations upon the Nature of the Universe; so the *Chaldeans* were perverted in the same manner. Their Idolatry began earlier than that of other Nations, as early as the Days of *Abraham*, as I before observed; but it was of the same sort with that which the *Egyptians* first practised. We are told (h) that *Ninus* τὸν Νεβελῶδ, i. e. τὸν τῷ Νεβελῶδ, the Descendant or rather the Successor of *Nimrod*, whom they call the *Assyrian* [as being the Founder of the *Assyrian* Empire] taught the *Assyrians* to worship Fire, not common Fire, I conceive, but the Sun, Moon and Stars, which they probably imagined to consist of Fire (i); and in the process of their Idolatry we are further informed of them, that they were the first

(g) There are several Writers cited by Fabricius, Biblioth. Antiqu. p. 383, as opposers of the opinion of Spencer and Sir J. Marsham, viz. Rami-esius, esp. 4. Pentecontarchi Nat. Alexand. ætate 3. vet. Test. diff. 6. Leydecker. de rep. Heb. II. 4. Anton. Bynæus & Sebast. Schmidius in diff. & tractat. de circumcissione. Salom. Deylingius 6 observ. sacrar. Rich. Montacutius orig. Eccles. & al. (h) Chronic. Alexand. p. 64. (i) Empedocles took up this Opinion from the Ancients, and held πυρὴν τὰ ἄσπρα. Plut. placet. Philos. L. 2. c. 13.

who set up a Pillar to the Planet *Mars*, and worshipped it as a God (*k*). This therefore was the first Idolatry of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians*, and it is very probable that their early Skill in Astronomy led them into it: they had been Students of Astronomy for at least 237 Years at the Birth of *Abraham*, and had made such Observations all the time, as they had thought worth recording. What their Observations were we cannot say, but it is most likely, that they observed the Courses of the heavenly Bodies as well as they were able, and according to their Abilities philosophized about their Nature and Influence upon the World, and their Philosophy being false, a false Philosophy naturally tended to introduce Errors in Religion.

The Sun, Moon, and the particular Star called *Mars*, were the first Objects of the *Chaldean*, *Babylonian*, or *Assyrian* Idolatry, and this seems to be confirmed by the Names which they gave to their ancient Kings. We cannot indeed infer any thing of this sort from *Ctesias's* Catalogue, for the Names he used are known not to be *Assyrian*, they are either *Greek* or *Persian*, for he used such Names as the *Persians*, from whose Records he wrote, had translated the old *Assyrian* Names

(*k*) *Chronic. Alexand.* p. 89.

into, or he turned them into such as his own Language offered to him, (a Liberty which has been used by other Writers; by the *Greeks*, when they called the *Egyptian Thyoth Hermes*, and again by the *Latins*, who named him *Mercurius*) but the ancient *Assyrian* Names were of another sort; for in order to raise their Kings to the highest Honours, and to cause the People to think of them with the utmost Veneration, they commonly called them by the Names of two or three of these Planetary Deities put together, intimating them hereby to be Persons under the extraordinary Care and Protection of their Gods. Thus their Kings and great Men were called *Peleser* (*l*), *Belshazzar* (*m*), *Belteshazzar* (*n*), *Nebuchadnezzar* (*o*), *Nabonassar* (*p*), with other Names of the same sort; in order to explain which we need only observe, that *Pil*, *Pal*, or *Pel*, or *Baal*, or *Bal*, or *Bel*, which was wrote Βῆλ⊙ in *Greek* or *Belus* in *Latin*, and sometimes it is wrote *Phel*, or *Phul*, or *Pul*, for they are all the same Word, signifies Lord or King, and was the Name of the Sun, whom they called the Lord or King of the Heaven. *Baalab*, *Baalta*, *Belta* or *Beltes*, which signifie Lady or Queen,

(*l*) 1 Chron. v. ver. 6. (*m*) Dan. v. ver. 1. (*n*) Dan. i. 7.
 (*o*) Dan. iii. 1. (*p*) *The Name of Belesis. Dr. Prideaux Connect.* p. 1.

were the Names of the Moon, whom they called *Queen of Heaven*. *Azer*, or *Azur*, or *Azar*, was the Name of *Mars*. *Gad* signifies a *Troop*, or *Host*. And *Nabo*, or *Nebo*, was a Name for the Moon. From observing this it is easy to explain these Names of the *Assyrian Kings*. *Pelefer* is *Pel-Azar*, or a Man in the especial Favour of the Sun and of *Mars*. *Belshazzar*, i. e. *Bel-Azar*, or *Bel's-Azar*, a Word of the same Import with the former. *Belteshazzar*, i. e. *Baalta*, or *Belta's-Azar*, i. e. a Person favoured by the Moon and *Mars*. *Nabonassar* is *Nabo-Azar*, i. e. a Favourite of the Moon and of *Mars*. *Nebuchadnezzar* is *Nabo*, or *Nebo-Gad-Azar*, or one favoured by the Moon, by the Host of Heaven, and by *Mars*. And this Custom spread into other Nations. *Beleazar* was the Name of a King of *Tyre*; and *Diomedes*, i. e. *one in the favour of Jupiter*, was one of the *Grecians* famous in *Homer*. The learned Dr. *Hyde* (a) differs a little from what I have here offered; he supposes *Bel* to be the Name of the Planet *Jupiter*; *Belta*, of *Venus*; *Nabo*, of *Mercury*; and *Gad*, of *Jupiter*; as if the first *Assyrians* worshipped the several Planets of these Names; but I think it much to be questioned whether they distinguished thus early between

(a) Rel. vet. Perfarum c. 2. p. 67.

the Planets and the other Stars. We are indeed told from the *Alexandrian Chronicon*, that they set up a Pillar unto *Mars*, as I before hinted; and very probably in time they distinguished the other Planets and remarkable Stars, and took them into the Number of their Gods; but we do not find that they did this in the very early Days; for, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (a), when *Jupiter* was first worshipped, he was considered not as a Star, or Planet, but as one of the Elements. And *Eusebius*, in his Account of the ancient *Egyptian* Worship of *Jupiter*, observes the same thing (b). And the *Phœnicians* in their first Use of this Name, intended to signify the Sun by it (c), and not the Star, or Planet, which was afterwards called *Jupiter*. The Astronomy of the Ancients was not so exact as we are apt to imagine it. Some accidental Thought or other might induce the *Assyrians* to pay a greater Honour to *Mars*, than to any other Star, as the *Egyptians* did to the Dog-star, for the Influence (d) which they imagined that Star to have upon the flowing of the River *Nile*; and the *Assyrians* might very probably pay the like Honour to *Mars*, and not know him to be a Planet, nor yet

(a) Lib. 1. p. 11. (b) Præp. Evang. l. 3. c. 3. (c) Id. l. 1. c. 10. (d) Marsham, Can. Chron. in *αρχαιολογία* p. 9.

distinguish him, except by some odd Conceit or other which they had about him, from the rest of the Host of Heaven. *Vosfius* (a), and several other Writers, take the Words *Bel*, *Belta*, *Nabo*, and *Gad*, as I have taken them.

The *Persians* corrupted their Religion in much the same manner: They are thought not to have fallen into so gross an Idolatry as their Neighbours, but they did not keep up very long to the true and pure Worship of God. *Sabiiism* was the first Error of this Nation. The Word *Sabiiism* is of *Hebrew* Original, it comes from *Sabah*, which signifies an Host; so that a *Sabian* is a Worshipper of an Host or Multitude, and the Error of the *Persians* was, they worshipped *the Host of Heaven*. When, or by whom they were led into this Error, is uncertain, but very probably it was effected in much the same Method as that by which the *Egyptians* were seduced. It is thought that the *Persians* (b) never were so corrupted, as intirely to lose the Knowledge of the supreme God, and that they only worshipped the Luminaries as his most glorious Ministers, and consequently with a Worship inferior to what they paid the Deity. They look'd up to Heaven, and consider-

(a) De Origine & Progressu Idololatriæ. *Perfarum*, c. 1.

(b) Hyde Reli-

ed the Glory and Brightness of the Lights of it, their Motion, Heat and Influence upon this lower World, and hereby raised in their Minds very high Notions of them. It was an ancient Opinion, that these Beings were all alive, and instinct with a glorious and divine Spirit (*b*); and what could their Philosophy teach them better, when they were far from having true Notions about them: They saw them, as they thought, running their Courses Day and Night over all the World, dispensing Life, and Heat, and Health, and Vigour, to all the Parts and Products of the Earth; they kept themselves so far right as not to mistake them for the true God, but they imagined them to be the most glorious of his Ministers, that could be made the Object of their Sight, and not taking due Care to keep strictly to what their Fore-fathers had delivered to them from Revelation about Religion, they were led away by their own Imaginations to appoint an idolatrous Worship for Beings which had been created, and by *Nature were no Gods.*

(*b*) *This Notion the Philosophers in time improved into that noble Intimation given us in Virgil.*

Principio Cœlum, ac Terras, camposque liquentes,
 Lucentemque Globum Lunæ, Titaniaque Astra,
 Spiritus intus alit; totamque infusa per Artus
 Mens agitat Molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

Æneid. 6, v. 725.

And

And of this sort was the Idolatry that first spread over *Canaan*, *Arabia*, and all the other neighbouring and adjacent Nations; and I might say the same was first propagated into the more distant and remote Countries. When the *Israelites* were preparing to take Possession of the Land of *Canaan*, the chief Caution that was given them against their falling into the Idolatry of the Nations round about them, shews what the Religion and Idolatry of those Nations was: And the Vindication which *Job* made for himself, intimates that this was the Idolatry of the *Arabians* in his Days. He tells us (c), that he had *never beheld the Sun when it shined, nor the Moon walking in brightness; and that his Heart had not been enticed, nor his Mouth kissed his Hand*, i. e. he had never look'd up to the Sun and Moon, and bowed down to pay a religious Worship to them; or, (as *Moses* expresses it in his Caution to the *Israelites*) (d), he had not *lift up his Eyes to Heaven, nor when he saw the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, even all the Host of Heaven, was driven to worship and to serve them*. This therefore was the first and most ancient Idolatry.

And when the several Nations of the World had thus begun to deviate from

(c) Job. xxxi. 26, 27. (d) Deut. iv. 19.

the true Worship of God, they did not stop here, but in a little time went further and further into all manner of Superstitions, in which the *Egyptians* quickly outstripped and went beyond all the other Nations of the Earth. The *Egyptians* began, as I have said, first with the Worship of the Sun and Moon; in a little time they took the Elements into the Number of their Gods, and worshipped the Earth, the Water, the Fire, the Air (*e*); in time they looked over the Catalogue of their Ancestors, and appointed a Worship for such as had been more eminently famous in their Generations (*f*); and they having before this made Pillars, Statues, or Images in memory of them, they paid their Worship before these, and so introduced this sort of Idolatry. In time they descended still lower, and did not only worship Men, but, considering what Creatures had been most eminently serviceable to their most celebrated Ancestors, or remarkably instrumental in being made use of by the first Inventers of the several Arts of living, towards the carrying forward the Inventions that were first found out, for the providing for the Conveniencies of Life, they consecrated these also; and in later Ages, vegetables, and inanimate things had a religious Regard paid to them. In this

(*e*) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. (*f*) Id. *ibid.*

manner they fell from one thing to another; after *they ceased to retain God in their Knowledge*, according to what God had been pleased to reveal to them concerning himself and his Worship; becoming every Day more and more *vain in their Imaginations*, they wandered farther and farther from the true Religion, into all manner of Fooleries and Abominations.

At what particular Times the *Egyptians* took the several Steps that led them into their grosser Idolatries, we cannot say, but we find they were got into them very early. They worshipped Images, even the Images of Beasts, before the *Israelites* left them, as appears from the *Israelites* setting up the Calf at *Horeb* (g), in imitation of the Gods which they had seen in *Egypt*; and it is remarkable that they were by this time such Proficients in the Art of making these Gods, as to cast them in Metal, for such an Image was that which the *Israelites* set up; and this makes the Observation of *Pausanias* appear very probable, who remarks (h), that the *Egyptians* had wooden or carved Images at the time that *Danaus* came into *Greece*; for supposing *Danaus's* coming into *Greece* to be about the time where (i) the *Arundelian*

(g) Exod. xxxii. (h) In Corinthiacis. (i) Archbishop
 Usher supposes the Parian Chronicon to have been com. by d Anno
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lian Marble fixes it, *i. e.* a little before the time when *Moses* visited the Children of *Israel*, namely, *A. M.* 2494, it looks very probable that they had this sort of Images thus early, because it appears from what I before observed, that before twenty Years after this Time they were so improved as to make them of better Materials, and in a more curious and artful manner; for Archbishop *Usher* places the *Exit* of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt* but nineteen Years after this Year, in which *Danaus* is supposed to have come into *Greece*. The Observation of *Pausanias* was [ξόανα τὰ πάντα, μάλιττα τὰ Αἰγύπτια] that the *Egyptian* Images were all wooden (*k*) or carved ones at that Time, *i. e.* at the time that *Danaus* left *Egypt*, which being, as will appear hereafter, several Years before he came to *Greece*, it is very probable that

Mundi 3741; and the Marble tells us that *Danaus's* coming into *Greece* was 1247 Years earlier, so that according to this Account it was Anno Mundi 2494, as I have placed it, which is about 20 Years before the *Israelites* going out of *Egypt*. (*k*) The Translator of *Pausanias* renders the Word ξόανα, e ligno, and so I find many Authors agree to take it. *Clemens Alexandrianus* [in *Cohortat. ad Gentes*] thinks ξόανον to be a carved Image of either Wood or Stone; and *Helychius* says ξόανα ἀγάλματα κτεῖως τὰ ἢ ξύλων ἢ ἐσμῆρα ἢ λίθων the best Explanation of the true meaning of the Word seems to have been design'd by *Eusebius* [Præp. Evang. l. 3. c. 8.] where he opposes it to a σκέλιον ἔργον, meaning perhaps a molten Image; but the Passage is so corrupted, that there is no guessing at the true meaning of it. I have been in some Doubts whether ξόανα in *Pausanias*, might not be a mistake for ξώινα, or ξώινα.

the Use of Images in *Egypt* was then in its first Rise and Infancy, and that the Makers of them were not got further than to try their Art upon such common and easy Materials as young Beginners would chuse to make their first Attempts on. The Religion of *Egypt* was so entirely corrupted in *Moses's* time, that he could not venture upon suffering the *Israelites* to sacrifice unto the Lord their God in the Land, for he told *Pharaoh* that it would be in no wise proper for them to attempt it (a), because they would be obliged to *sacrifice the Abomination of the Egyptians before their Eyes*, i. e. some of those living Creatures which the *Egyptians* had consecrated, and that they should hereby so enrage them, that they would stone them for so doing; but they do not seem to have deviated thus far in the Days of *Joseph*; *Joseph* appears by all the Actions of his Life to have been a Man of Virtue, his Heart was full of the Hope and Expectation of the Promise which God had made to *Abraham*, to *Isaac*, and to *Jacob* (b), and therefore he took an Oath of the Children of *Israel*, that when God should visit them, and bring them out of *Egypt*, they would carry away his Bones with them, and yet he married in *Egypt* the Priest of *On's* Daughter (c); and afterwards, when the Land

(a) Exod. viii. 26. (b) Gen. i. 24, 25. (c) Chap. xli. Ver. 45.

was famished, he took the Priests under his Protection, so as not to have them suffer in a Calamity which was so severe and heavy upon all the other Inhabitants of the Land (a). If the Religion of *Egypt* had at this time been so intirely corrupted, as it was in *Moses's* time, *Joseph*, who had the same Faith as *Moses* had, would surely no more than *Moses* did, have sat down in the Enjoyment of the Pleasures and Honours and Riches of *Egypt*, but at least, when *Pharaoh* had put him in full Power, so that *without him no Man lifted up his Hand or Foot in all the Land of Egypt* (b), he would have used his Credit with the King, and his Authority both with the Priests and the People, to have in some measure corrected their Religion, if there had been any of these grosser Abominations at that time in it; and he might surely have as easily effected something in this Matter, as he brought about a total Change of the Property of all the Subjects of the Land: But the Truth of the Matter was most probably this; The *Egyptians* and the *Israelites* were indeed at this Time in some respects of a different Religion, and not being able to join Worship at the same Altar, they might not (according to their Notions of Things) eat with one another; but their Differences were not as

(a) Gen. xlvii. 22. (b) Chap. xli. 44.

yet so wide, but that they could bear with *Joseph*, and *Joseph* with them: And therefore all their grosser Corruptions, which led them to worship the Images of Beasts and of Men, must be supposed to have arisen later than these Days; and the time between *Joseph's* Death, and the Children of *Israel's* going out of *Egypt*, being about a Century and half, they may very well be supposed to have been begun in the first Part of this Time, and the *Egyptians* to have had only carved or wooden Images, according to *Pausanias*, until after *Danaus* left them, and to have so improved as to make molten Images before the *Israelites* Departure from them.

There is indeed one Passage in *Genesis*, which seems to intimate that there was that religious Regard, which the *Egyptians* were afterwards charged with, paid to Creatures even in the Days of *Joseph*; for we are informed, that he put his Brethren upon telling *Pharaoh* their Profession, in order to have them placed in the Land of *Goshen*, for or because (a) every Shepherd is an Abomination to the Egyptians. I must freely acknowledge, that I cannot satisfy my self about the Meaning of this Passage; I cannot see that Shepherds were really at this Time an Abomination to the Egyptians; for *Pharaoh* himself had his Shep-

(a) Gen. xlv. 34.

herds, and when he ordered *Joseph* to place his Brethren in the Land of *Goshen* (a), he was so far from disapproving of their Employment, that he ordered him, if he knew of any Men of Activity amongst them, that he should make them Rulers over *his* Cattle; nay, the *Egyptians* were at this time Shepherds themselves, as well as the *Israelites*; for we are told, when their Money failed, they brought (b) their Cattle of all sorts unto *Joseph*, to exchange them for Corn, and among the rest, their Flocks of the same kind with those which the *Israelites* were to tell *Pharaoh* that it was their Profession to take care of, as will appear to any one that will consult the *Hebrew* Text in the Places referred to. Either therefore we must take the Expression, that *every Shepherd was an Abomination to the Egyptians*, to mean no more than that they thought meanly of the Employment, that it was a lazy, idle, and unactive Profession, as *Pharaoh* seem'd to question, whether there were any Men of Activity amongst them, when he heard what their Trade was; or if we take the Words to signify a religious Aversion to them, which does indeed seem to be the true Meaning of the Expression from the Use made of it in other Places of Scripture, then I do not see how it is reconcil-

(a) Gen. xlvii. 6. (b) Ver. 17,

able with *Pharaoh's* Inclination to employ them himself, or with the *Egyptians* being many of them at this time of the same Profession themselves, which the Heathen Writers agree with *Moses* (a) in supposing them to be.

The Learned have observed, that there are several Interpolations in the Books of the Scriptures, which were not the Words of the Sacred Writers. Some Persons affecting to shew their Learning, when they read over the ancient MSS, would sometimes put a short Remark in the Margin, which they thought might give a Reason for, or clear the Meaning of some Expression in the Text against which they placed it, or to which they adjoined it; and from hence it happened now and then, that the Transcribers from Manuscripts so remarked upon, did, thro' mistake, take a Marginal Note or Remark into the Text, imagining it to be a Part of it. Whether *Moses* might not end his Period in this Place with the Words, *that ye may dwell in the Land of Goshen*; and whether what follows, *for every Shepherd is an Abomination to the Egyptians*, may not have been added to the Text this way, is intirely submitted to the Judgment of the Learned.

As the *Egyptians* did thus sink into the grossest Idolatries very early, so they pro-

(a) Diodorus Sic. Lib. 1.

pagated their Errors into all the neighbouring Nations round about them: The *Philistines* quickly came to have some of the Gods which the *Egyptians* served; they had set up *Dagon* before *Eli's* Time (a), and the Image of *Dagon* was in part an human Representation, for it had an Head, Face, and Palms of Hands; and the Nations which the *Israelites* passed thro', after their coming out of *Egypt*, had amongst them at that time Idols, not only of Wood and Stone [which were the *ἑόρα* before mentioned, and the most ancient] but of Silver and Gold also (b): *Egypt* was the fruitful Mother of all these Abominations, and the nearer Nations were situated to, or the sooner they had Acquaintance with *Egypt*, the earlier Idolatries of this sort were practised amongst them: For,

If we go into *Asia*, into the Parts a little distant from *Egypt*, we find, that during all the first Ages, the Luminaries of Heaven or the Elements were the only Objects of their idolatrous Worship. *Baal*, or *Bel*, or *Baal-samen*, i. e. according to their own Interpretation (c), *the King or Lord of Heaven*, as the *Hebrew* Words *Baal-shemaim* would import, or *Baal-Ze-lub*, i. e. the Lord of Flies, (by which

(a) 1 Sam. v. (b) Deut. xxix. 16, 17. (c) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.

Names they meant (a) the Sun) were the ancient Deities of the *Phœnicians*. The *Ammonites* worshipped the same God under the Name of *Milcom* or *Moloch* (b), i. e. *Melech* or the King. The *Arabians* likewise worshipped the Sun, under the Name of *Baal-Peor*, or *Baal-Phegor* (c). And the Men of *Sepharvaim*, who were brought out of *Assyria* into *Samaria*, in the Reign of *Abaz* King of *Judah*, and *Hoshea* King of *Samaria* (d), had *Anammelech*, i. e. the King of the Clouds; and *Adram-melech*, or rather *Adar-ha-melech*, i. e. *Adar*, or *Mars* the King, for their Gods; and very probably *Nergal* and *Asbima*, *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*, the Gods of the other Nations that were brought with them, were Deities of the same sort. These, and such as these, were the Gods worshipped in the several Countries of *Asia* in the first Days of their Idolatry, and some Nations did not descend lower for many Ages. The *Persians* in their early Times had no Temples, Statues, Altars, or Images (e), but they sacrificed on the Top of Mountains, to the Sun, Moon,

(a) Procop. Gazæus in 1 Kings xvi. Servius in 1 Æn. Damascius in vitâ Isidori apud Photium. Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 7. (b) 1 Kings xi. 5. 7. Levit. xviii. 21. ibid. xx. 2. 3. 4. 5. (c) Theophrast. Hist. Plant. l. 20. c. 4. Numb xxv. Psalm cvii. Hosea ix. (d) 2 Kings xvii. 31. & 24. (e) Herodot. l. 1. Strabo. l. 15. Xenophon in Cyropæd. in multis loc. B. Iffonius de regno Persarum.

Earth, Fire, and Water. The first Image that was set up amongst them, was a Statue to *Venus*, and that was erected not 'till almost the End of the *Persian* Empire, by a King whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls *Artaxerxes*, and very probably he meant *Artaxerxes Ochus* (a), the Predecessor of *Darius*, in whose Reign *Alexander the Great* overthrew the *Persian* Empire. We read in many Places of the Old Testament of the Idols of *Babylon*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* set up an Image of Gold in the Plain of *Dura* (b); and tho' this was not the first Image set up amongst them (for *Isaiab* mentions their hiring Goldsmiths to make them (c) Gods) yet I believe that we may place their beginning this Idolatry about or but little before this Time; for the Removal of the *Cuthites*, of the Men of *Ava*, *Hamath*, and *Sepharvaim*, from the (d) Countries of *Babylon* into *Samaria*, was about a Century before the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and they seem not to have learnt in their own Countries to become Worshippers of these sort of Gods; for when they set up the Idolatries of their Nations in *Samaria*, they did not set up Images, but made *Succoth-benoth* (e), i. e. Shrines, or Model-Temples, little Structures, such as *St. Stephen* speaks

(a) Cohortat. ad Gentes. (b) Dan. iii. (c) *Isaiab* xlvi. 6.
 (d) 2 Kings xvii. 24. (e) *Ver.* 30.

of, when he (a) mentions *the Tabernacles of Moloch*, which they took up and carried about in Processions; or they had Sideral Representations of the Luminaries of Heaven, such as St. *Stephen* calls *the Star of the God Remphan*.

The First Step which the *Babylonians*, and very probably all other Nations, took towards Image-Worship, was the erecting Pillars in honour of their Gods. All their other Idols were Novelties, in comparison of these. We read that *Jacob* set up a Pillar, when he vowed a Vow unto the true God (b); so that the erecting these Pillars was a very ancient Practice, even as ancient as *A. M. 2246*, and practised we see by the Professors of the true Religion; and when Men fell into Idolatry, they kept on this Practice, and erected such Pillars to their false Gods. The *Alexandrian Chronicon*, in the Place which I have before cited, remarks to us, that the *Babylonians* set up a Pillar to the Planet *Mars*; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* (c) observes, that before the Art of Carving was invented, the Ancients erected Pillars, and paid their Worship to them, as to Statues of their Gods. *Herodian* (d) mentions a Pillar or large Stone (for it is to be observed, that these Pillars were large Stones set up with-

(a) Acts vii. 43.

(b) Gen. xxviii. 18. & xxxv. 14.

(c) Stromat. l. 1. p. 151.

(d) Lib. 5. p. 563.

out Art or (a) Workmanship) erected in honour of the Sun, by the Title of *Eligabalus*, or *El-Gebal*, i. e. the God of *Gebal* a City of *Phœnicia*. *Pausanius* mentions several of these uncarved Pillars in *Bœotia* in *Greece* (b), and he says they were the ancient Statues erected to their Gods (c). Some time after the first Use of these, they erected wooden ones, and these at first had but little Workmanship bestowed upon them, for we read in *Clemens Alexandrinus* (d), that a Block, or Trunk of a Tree, was an ancient Statue of *Juno* at *Samos*; and *Plutarch* informs us, that two Beams, or pieces of Timber, joined together with two shorter Cross-beams, was the ancient Representation of *Castor* and *Pollux* (e); and hence it came to pass, that the Astrologers pitched upon the Figure of this Representation to be the Character for the Constellation called *Gemini*, which they describe thus II.

Epiphanius (f), and other Writers, have imagined that Image-Worship was very early in *Assyria* and *Chaldea*, even as early as the Days of *Abraham*; they represent, that *Serug*, *Nabor*, and *Terah* the Father of *Abraham*, were Statuaries and Carvers, and

(a) Pausan. in Bœoticis, and in this respect they were like Jacob's Pillars. (b) In Bœoticis. (c) Idem in Achaicis.

(d) Cohort. ad Gentes.

(e) Philadelph. p. 178. Initio.

(f) Adversus Hæres. l. I. § 6. Suidas in Σπερχ. & al.

that they made Idols, and set up Image-Worship in these Countries; but there is no Proof of this Opinon, except *Jewish* Traditions, which are of no great Account. Pillars of Stone were perhaps in use in these Times, but they were only common Stones heaped upon one another, as *Jacob* afterwards heaped them, and *Joshua* upon another Occasion (a) many Generations after; or they were large, but ἀργοὶ λίθοι, as *Pausanias* calls them, they had no Workmanship about them, which could intimate the Hand of the Artificer to have been concerned in them. *Laban* indeed, a Descendant of this Family, had his *Teraphim*, in our Translation, Gods, which *Rachel* stole from him (b), but we have no reason to imagine that these were Image-Gods, it is more probable that they were little Pillars, or Stones, which had the Names of their Ancestors inscribed upon them. As they erected larger Pillars to their Deities, so they made smaller and portable ones in Memory of their Ancestors, which were esteemed by them much as Family-Pictures are now by us; and that made *Rachel* so fond of taking them when she went away from her Father's House, and *Laban* so angry at the Thoughts of their being taken from him. In After-ages, when the Pillars erected to the Gods were

(a) *Josh. iv. 5.*(b) *Gen. xxxi.*

turned into Statues, these Family-Pillars were converted into little Images; and these seem to be the Beginning of the *Penates*, or Family-Gods, of which we have frequent mention in After-times.

Idolatry made its Progress in *Greece* in much the same manner; for according to *Plato's* express Words (a), the first *Greeks* esteemed those to be the only Gods, which many of the Foreign Nations thought so, namely, the Sun, Moon, and Stars: They worshipped therefore at first the Luminaries of Heaven; In time they came to worship the Elements; for the same Author mentions these also as their ancient Deities, and they erected Pillars in honour of them, as the *Asians* did to their Gods, as appears from the Authorities already cited, and many other Places which might be quoted from *Pausanias* and other Writers. At what Time the *Greeks* came to worship such Gods as *Homer* sings of, is uncertain; but their Worship was evidently established before *his* Time. All Writers (b) do in the general agree, that the *Greeks* had the Names and the Worship of these Gods from *Egypt*, and *Herodotus* was of opinion that the *Pelasgi* first en-

(a) In *Cratylo*. His words are, φαίνονται μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἄνθρώπων ὡς εἴ τι Ἑλλάδα τέρας μόνος Θεὸς ἡγεῖσθαι ὡς περὶ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα καὶ ἕρπον. (b) *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Diodor. Sic. Clem. Alexand. & mult. al.*

couraged the Reception of them (a), at what time he does not tell us; but we may remark this, that we cannot suppose it to be before the Plantation of that People, which left *Greece* under the Conduct and Command of *Oenotrus* (b), were migrated into *Italy*; for if it had, they would have carried these Gods, and this sort of Worship with them.

But if we look into *Italy*, we not only find in general, that the Writers of their (c) Antiquities remark, that their ancient Deities were of a different sort from those of *Greece*; but, according to *Plutarch* (d), *Numa*, the Second King of *Rome*, made express Orders against the Use of Images in the Worship of the Deity; nay he says further, that for the first 170 Years after the building the City, the *Romans* used no Images, but thought the Deity to be invisible, and reputed it unlawful to make Representations of him from Things of an inferior Nature; so that according to this Account, *Rome* being built about *A. M.* 3256 (e), the Inhabitants of *Italy* were not greatly corrupted in their Religion even so late as *A. M.* 3426, which falls when *Nebuchadnezzar* was King of *Babylon*, and about 169 Years after the

(a) In *Euterpe*. (b) *Pausanias* in *Arcadiciis*. (c) *Dionys. Halicar. Lib. 7.* (d) In *Numa. & Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. 1.* (e) *Archbishop Usher's Annals.*

Time where I am to end this Work. It is remarkable that *Plutarch* does not represent *Numa* as correcting or refining the ancient Idolatry of *Italy*; but expresses, that this People never had these grosser Deities, either before, or for the first 170 Years of their City; so that it is more than probable, that *Greece* was not thus corrupted, when the *Pelasgi* removed from thence into *Italy*; and further, that the *Trojans* were not such Idolaters at the Destruction of their City, because, according to this Account, *Æneas* neither brought with him Images into *Italy*, nor such Gods as were worshipped by the Adoration of Images; and therefore *Pausanias* (a), who imagined that *Æneas* carried the *Palladium* into *Italy*, was as much mistaken as the Men of *Argos*, who affirmed themselves to have it in their City (b). The Times of *Numa* are about 200 Years after *Homer*, and very probably the Idolatry so much celebrated in his Writings might by this time begin to appear in *Italy*, and thereby occasion *Numa* to make Laws and Constitutions against it.

There are several other Particulars which might be added to this Subject, but I am unwilling to draw out this Digression to a greater Length, and shall only offer a Remark or two, and put an End to this Book.

(a) In *Corinthiacis*.

(b) *Ibid.*

It is observable, that the first Corruptions of Religion were begun by Kings and Rulers of Nations. *Ninus* taught the *Assyrians* to worship Fire; and *Syphis*, King of *Egypt*, wrote a Sacred Book, which laid the Foundation of all their Errors: In like manner in After-ages, *Nebuchadnezzar* set up the Golden Image in the Plains of *Dura*; and when Image-worship was brought into *Persia*, it was introduced, as the learned *Dr. Hyde* observes, by some King, who built Temples, set up Statues, appointed Priests, and settled them Revenues, for the carrying on the Worship according to the Rites and Institutions which he thought fit to prescribe to them. And in this manner, without doubt, *Sabiiism* was planted, both in *Persia*, and all other Nations. Kings and Heads of Families were the Priests amongst the true Worshippers of the God of Heaven; *Melchizedec* was Priest as well as King of *Salem*; and *Abraham* was the Priest of his own Household: And we have reason to believe that other Kings were careful to preserve to themselves this Honour, and presided in Religion, as well as ruled and governed their People; and in Reality, as the Circumstances of the World then were, if they had not done the one, they could not have effected

the other. Kings and Rulers therefore being at this time the supreme Directors in Religion, their Inventions and Institutions were what began the first Errors and Innovations which were introduced into it. This Point should indeed be a little more carefully examined, because some Writers have a favourite Scheme, which they think they can build great Things upon, and which runs very contrary to what I have offered. These Gentlemen advance Propositions to this Purpose: That God had given to all Men innate Principles, sufficient to lead them to know and worship him, but that the great Misfortune of the Heathen World was, too strict a Reliance of the Laity upon the Clergy, who, for the Advancement of their own Lucre, invented Temples, and Altars, and Sacrifices, and all manner of Superstitions. Thus they run on at Random. The whole of their Opinion may be expressed in these two Positions: 1. That the Powers and Faculties which God at first gave to Men, led them *naturally* to know and to worship Him, according to the Dictates of right Reason, *i. e.* in the way of *Natural Religion*. 2. That the Priests for their own Ends set up *Revealed Religion*: And this is in truth the Foundation of our modern Deism; the Professors

fors of it believing in their Hearts, that there never was a real Religion at all, but that the first Religion in the World was merely Natural, Men worshipping God only according to what Reason suggested to them; but that in time Artful Men, for Political Ends, pretended to Revelations, and led the World away into Superstition; and the first Pretenders to these Revelations were, they say, the Priests or Clergy. But all this is Fiction and Chimæra; we can find nothing to countenance these extravagant Fancies in any History of any Part of the World: For with regard to the first Point, that the Priests were the first Corrupters of Religion; let them but tell us when, and where: All the History we have of the several Kingdoms of the World agree in this, that Kings and Rulers were, in all the Heathen Nations, the first Institutors and Directors of the Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, as well as of the Laws by which they governed their People: And we have not only plain Hints to this Purpose, in the Remains of those early Kingdoms, of which perhaps it may be said, that the Accounts are so short and imperfect, that we may be deceived if we lay too great a Stress upon them: but we find, that all Antiquity was so universally agreed in this Point, that if

we look into the Foundation of those later Kingdoms, of which we have fuller and clearer Accounts transmitted to us, we find fuller and clearer Accounts of this Matter. *Romulus* and *Numa*, and other succeeding Kings, were the Authors and Institutors of every Part of the *Roman* Religion; and we are told (a) that *Numa* wrote a Book upon the Subject: and we find amongst the Appointments of *Romulus* (b), that when he had settled the several Magistrates and Officers, which he thought necessary for the well-governing of his People, he reserved to himself as King to be the supreme Director of the *Sacra* and Sacrifices, and to perform himself the Publick Offices of Religion; for so I understand the Words [πάντα δὲ κείνῳ περιετέθει τὰ πρὸς τὰς Θεῶν ὄσια.] And I think I am directed so to understand them, by what happened afterwards; for when *Brutus* and his Associates expelled the Kings, banishing *Tarquinius*, and erecting a Common-wealth instead of the Kingly Government, it is remarkable that they found themselves obliged to appoint a new Officer, whom they called the *Rex Sacrificulus*, that there might be one to

(a) Dionys. Halicarnass.
p. 87.

(b) Dionys. Halicarn. Lib. 2.

offer thofe Sacrifices, which ufed to be offered by the King for the People (a). *Quia publica Sacra quædam*, fays (b) *Livy*, *per ipfos Reges factitata erant, ne ubi ubi Regum Defiderium effet, Regem Sacrificulum creant*: i. e. “Because fome
 “ of the publick Sacrifices were per-
 “ formed by the King himfelf, that there
 “ might not be any want of a King,
 “ they created a Royal Sacrificer.” In *Greece* we find the fame Inftitutions, and according to *Xenophon* (c), the Kings of *Lacedæmon* having Officers under them for the feveral Employments of the State, referved to themfelves to be the Priests of their People in divine Affairs, and their Governors and fupreme Directors in Civil. And this was the moft ancient Practice in all Nations; and Priests were fo far from being the firft Inventers of Superftition, or Corrupters of Religion, that in the Senfe in which thefe Writers ufe the Word, there were no Priests at all until Religion was confiderably depraved and vitiated. Every Man was at firft the Priest of his own Family, and every King of his own Kingdom; and tho’ we may fuppose that in time, when Kingdoms came to grow large,

(a) *Dionyf. Halicarn.* l. 4. p. 262. (b) *Liv.* l. 2. c. 2.

(c) *In Repub. Lacedæm.* p. 544.

the People to be numerous, and the Affairs to be transacted full of Variety; that then Kings appointed, for the better governing of their People, Ministers under them, both in Sacred and Civil Matters; yet this was not done at first; and when it was done, the Ministers so appointed were only Executors of the Injunctions and Directions, Orders and Institutions, which the Kings who appointed them thought fit to give them. In time, the Ceremonies and Institutions of Religion grew to be so numerous, as that Kings could not always be at Leisure to attend upon the Performance, or the taking care of the Particulars of them, nor could a new King be sufficiently instructed at his coming to a Crown, in all the various Rites and Usages that had, some at one Time, and some at another, been established by his Ancestors; and this occasioned the appointing a Set of Men, whose whole Business it might be to take care of these Matters, which then Princes began to leave to them; and from this Time indeed the Power and Authority of the Priests grew daily; tho' even after this Time we find some of the greatest Kings directing and acting in these Things themselves. *Cyrus* commonly offered the Publick Sacrifices himself (a); and

(a); and *Cambyfes* his Father, when he sent him with an Army to assist *Cyaxares* his Uncle, observed to him, what Care he had taken to have him fully instructed in Augury, that he might be able to judge for himself, and not depend upon his *Augurs* for their Directions (b). And thus I have endeavoured to set this Matter in the Light in which the best Writers and Historians agree to place it; and these were, I believe, the Sentiments which *Josephus* had about it, who inquiring into what might be the first Occasion of the many Heathen Superstitions and Errors in Religion, professes himself to think that they began at first from the Legislators, who not rightly knowing the true Nature of God, or not rightly explaining and keeping up to that Knowledge which they might have had of it, were hereby led to appoint Constitutions in Religion not suitable to it, and so opened a Door for those that came after to introduce all sorts of Deities and Superstitions (c). And very agreeable to this is the Determination of the Author of the Book of *Wisdom*, that the Heathen Idolatries were set up by the Commandments of

(a) Xenophon. *Cyropæd.* l. 3. p. 63. & in mult. al. loc.

(b) *Id.* *ibid.* l. 1. p. 21.

(c) *Contra Apion.* p. 1286.

Kings (a). It will perhaps be here said, that Kings then were the first introducers of Revelation and Superstition, and that they did it to aggrandize themselves, to attract the greater Regard and Veneration of their People. To this I answer: We find Accounts of Revelation earlier than we find any mention of Kings. *Noah* had several Directions from the Deity, and so had *Adam*; so that we must set aside what History assures us to have been Fact, in order to embrace what seems to these sort of Writers to be most probable, instead of it. But I have already considered (b) that the Worship of God, which all Men universally in all Nations performed in the most early Times, was of such a Nature, that we cannot with any Appearance of Probability imagine, but that it was at first introduced by Divine Appointments; for we cannot learn from History, nor if we reflect, can we conceive, that Natural Reason should ever have led Men into such Sentiments, as should have induced them to think of worshipping God in that manner. But there are two Queries which I would put to these Writers: 1. If there was no Revelation made to the Men of the first Ages, in

(a) Chap. xiv. Ver. 16.

(b) Book II. p. 82.

Matters of Religion, how came all Nations of the World to be so fully persuaded that there was, as to make it necessary for *Legislators*, who made Appointments in Religion, to pretend to some Revelation or other, in order to support and establish them? 2. How came Men to think of acknowledging and worshipping a God, so early as they did really worship and acknowledge him? If we look into the religious Appointments of the several Kings and Rulers whom we have Accounts of, we find their Institutions always received as Directions from Heaven, by *their Hands* transmitted to their People. *Romulus* and *Numa* were both believed to have been directed by a Revelation, what *Sacra* they were to establish; and *Lycurgus* was supposed to be instructed by the Oracle at *Delphos* (a); and thus *Syphis* the King of *Egypt* was esteemed to be Θεόπις, one that had a Converse with the Gods. The general Maxim of *Plato* (b), that all Laws and Constitutions about divine Worship were to be had only from the Gods, was every where received and believed in the World; and when Kings made Appointments in these Matters, their Subjects received what they ordered, as

(a) Plutarch. *Lycurg.*

(b) *De Legib.* l. 6.

the Dictates of Inspiration, believing that (a) a Divine Sentence was in the Lips of their Kings, and that their Mouths transgressed not in the Appointments which they made them; and this they readily went into, not being artfully betrayed by Kings into a Belief of Revelation, but believing *them* to be inspired, from the universal Knowledge which the World was then full of, that God had revealed to their several Ancestors and Heads of Families, in what way and manner they should worship him. If Reason only had been the first Guide in Matters of Religion, Rulers would neither have thought of, nor have wanted the Pretence of Revelation, to give Credit to their Institutions; whereas on the other hand, Revelation being generally esteemed in all Nations to be the only true Foundation of Religion; Kings and Rulers, when they thought fit to add Inventions of their own to the Religion of their Ancestors, were obliged to make use of that Disposition, which they knew their People to have, to receive what came recommended to them under the Name of a Revelation. But to proceed to the Second Query: If there was no Revelation made to the

(a) Prov. xvi. 10.

Men of the first Ages, how came the Knowledge and Worship of God so early into the World? Perhaps some will answer, according to Lord (a) *Herbert*, From innate Principles: If they do so, I must refer them to what our ingenious Countryman Mr. *Locke* has offered upon that Subject. The only way that Reason can teach Men to know God, must be from considering his Works; and if so, his Works must be first known and considered, before they can teach Men to know the Author of them. It seems to be but a wild Fancy, that Man was at first raised up in this World, and left intirely to himself, to find out by his own natural Powers and Faculties what was to be his Duty and his Business in it. If we could imagine the first Men brought into the World in this manner, we must, with *Diodorus Siculus*, conceive them for many Ages to be but very poor and sorry Creatures. *The invisible things of God* are indeed to be understood by the things that are made, but Men in this State would for many Generations be considering the things of the World in lower Views, in order to provide themselves the Conveniences of Life from them, before they would reflect upon them in such a

(a) Lib. de Religione Gentilium,

manner as should awaken up in their Minds any Thoughts of a God: And when they should come to consider Things in such a Light as to discover by them that there was a God, yet how long must it be before they can be imagined to have arrived at such a thorough Knowledge of the Things of the World, as to have just and true Notions of him? We see in Fact, that when Men first began to speculate and reason about the Things of the World, they reasoned and speculated very wrong. In *Egypt*, in *Chaldea*, in *Persia*, and in all other Countries, false and ill-grounded Notions of the Things which God had made, induced them to worship the Creatures instead of the Creator, and that at Times when other Persons, who had less Philosophy, were Professors of a truer Theology. The Descendants of *Abraham* were true Worshippers of the God of Heaven, when other Nations, whose great and wise Men pretended to consider and reason about the Works of the Creation, did in no wise rightly apprehend or *acknowledge the Workmaster; but deemed either Fire, or Wind, or the swift Air, or the Circle of the Stars, or the violent Water, or the Lights of Heaven to be the Gods which govern the World* (a),

(a) Wisdom. xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

being delighted with their Beauty, or astonished at their Power, they took them for Gods. In a Word, if we look over all the Accounts we have of the several Nations of the Earth, and consider every thing that has been advanced by any or all the Philosophers; we can meet with nothing to induce us to think, that the first Religion of the World was introduced by the Use and Direction of mere Natural Reason; but on the other hand, all History, both Sacred and Prophane, offers us various Arguments to prove, that God revealed to Men in the first Ages how he would be worshipped; but that, when Men, instead of adhering to what had been revealed, came to *lean to their own Understandings*, and to set up what they thought to be right, in the room of what God himself had directed, they lost and bewildered themselves in endless Errors. This I am sensible is a subject that should be examined to the bottom, and I am persuaded, if it were, the Result of the Enquiry would be this, that he that thinks to prove, that *the World ever did in Fact by Wisdom know God (a)*, that any Nation upon Earth, or any Set of Men ever did, from the Principles of Reason *only*, without *any Assistance from Revelation*, find

(a) 1 Corinth. i. 21.

out the true Nature and the true Worship of the Deity; must find out some History of the World entirely different from all the Accounts which the present Sacred or Prophane Writers do give us; or his Opinion must appear to be a meer Guess and Conjecture of what is barely possible, but what all History assures us never was really done in the World.

The End of the First Volume.



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